

KASHMIR DOCUMENTATION

Pandits in Exile



PANU

(PKM)

HT DIARY

Rights & Wrongs

The National Human Rights Commission has been finding itself called upon to play enlarging role in the current situation. More than five years after the start of the militant violence in Kashmir, the Commission has been receiving a number of cases and complaints involving the human rights violations there. This week, the Panun Kashmir Movement(PKM) presented a pile of documents to the NHRC listing the violations of human rights through acts of terrorism. The documents list the social and psychological trauma their community has been put through as a result of these happenings.

The PKM also took up with the Commission matters regarding instances of alleged bias and discrimination demonstrated by the State apparatus. This concerned cases of promotions, transfers and education of children. Describing the National Human Rights Commission as 'a sacred product of an Act of Parliament', it underlined the high expectations the affected people had from the NHRC.

**-The Hindustan Times, New Delhi
December 22, 1995**

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PANUN KASHMIR MOVEMENT(PKM)

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Jammu (India)

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PREFACE

Twenty years ago, a group of young and dedicated Kashmiri Pandits organised the 'Hindu Youth Convention' at Srinagar(Kashmir). With a burning desire to reshape the destiny of the Pandit Community in the Kashmir valley, the Convention raised its voice against repression, intimidation, persecution and Muslim precedence. These voices also reached the corridors of power in New Delhi, but the seat of power chose to turn a deaf ear to the alarming bells in Kashmir. In line with their policy of appeasement, the then authorities in power abdicated their obligations and what followed is history –the history of death and destruction, arson and loot, selective killings and mass massacres, genocide, exodus and ethnic cleansing of the aborigines of Kashmir –the Kashmiri Pandits. The Pandits, in exile, faced a new and unheard form of apartheid. They, after becoming the victims of majoritarianism and fundamentalism, terror and terrorism became the victims of the State too. In a struggle of new dimensions, while they were in the initial phase of their exile, the Pandits launched a movement in early 1990 to espouse their political aspirations. The very group of the Kashmiri Pandit youth, which was instrumental in organizing the 'Hindu Youth Convention' in 1985 in Kashmir, formed the core of the organisation to found and take the movement forward. As a part of this group, fortunately for me, I was a party and witness to the developments that followed.

The campaign began with the 'Kashmiri Hindu Convention' in 1990, followed by a massive and marathon public contact drive for more than one year, resulting in the holding of Margdarshan Conference of 1991 at Jammu. The Homeland Resolution of the Margdarshan-1991 caught the imagination of the people and made them rally round the leadership which took their concerns to new heights. It was however, observed that the concept which formed the basic foundation of the homeland resolution was being eroded which forced the cadres of the movement for homeland reorganise themselves with a view to resisting the derailment of the Margdarshan Resolution of Homeland. In this process, the Panun Kashmir Movement(PKM) was born.

The PKM faced many kinds of challenges. The Panun Kashmir Movement(PKM) spearheaded the struggle with a clear vision, despite heavy odds. With the experiences of success and failures, the PKM took the Kashmiri Pandit movement to new horizons, with special emphasis on the undiluted political ideology, application of human rights and unity of purpose within the Pandit community. In its presentations at the national and international level, the PKM made sincere and serious efforts to document facts about Kashmir and Kashmiri Pandits. A hard labour of days, months and years brought to the fore a voluminous material about issues of concern. We feel greatly satisfied that these meticulously drafted pieces of labour helped to make the parliamentarians, congressmen and senators, human rights bodies, commissions, courts and tribunals, international opinion makers and the key players in and outside the country, besides the general public, aware about the real face of Kashmir imbroglio.

The principal and prominent figures who contributed to the formation of these documents include Shri. B.L.Kaul and Sh. O.N.Pandita, the founding members of the PKM. We are proud of them and so should also the community be. It would be worthwhile here to mention the name of Dr.M.K.Teng for his notable initial contributions.

These documents of great value were quite in demand for a long time. The political and human rights activists, research fellows and students of history, politics and Kashmir affairs, the government and the non-government representatives from both within and outside the country, desired to have these documents for study, perusal, information, knowledge and follow-up action. In order to cater to these needs and demands, the PKM was of the view to reprint these documents and make them available, in the shape of a new book, to the people at large. It was a dream, difficult, if not impossible, to be realized.

After a great deal of thought, Prof. M.L.Raina, senior member of the PKM, was considerate and kind enough to own the responsibility to edit the new document. It is the outcome of his two years of vigorous efforts in the capacity of the Editor- Project Documentation, that we have **KASHMIR DOCUMENTATION Pandits in Exile** in our hands. No words are adequate enough to thank Sh. R.K.Raina, a dedicated activist of PKM.

for his outstanding help to Prof.Raina to complete the project. My special thanks are due to the Cyber Systems, Jammu(India) for their painstaking efforts to help us publish this document.

We hope our efforts will bear fruit. In a long drawn out struggle of generations, **Kashmir Documentation** is a precious gift of this generation to the generations that will follow. I salute the activists of the PKM for their unstinted support, assistance and encouragement. It would not have been possible, without their support, to realize this dream. I also feel indebted to those who were a part of us earlier, for their valuable contributions. They have been always a source of strength to me and the Panun Kashmir Movement(PKM). I salute them too.

On the occasion of the completion of the fifteenth year of the exile of Kashmiri Pandits and on the completion of ten years of its existence as an organization, the Panun Kashmir Movement(PKM) rededicates itself to the cause so dear to it. It is time to redefine the PKM to carry forward the legacy of ascetic commitment and Karmayoga -

An agitation of truth to expose brazen lies,
A rebellion against subjugation,
A fender against felony,
A crusade to overcome neglect,
A long battle to win the war of survival,
A campaign for restoration of rights,
A struggle to keep the issues alive,
And a movement to regain what is lost.....
Is the name that is called the
Panun Kashmir Movement(PKM).
It is verily the mission -with a vision- in action.

Ashwani Kumar Chrungoo,
President,

Panun Kashmir Movement(PKM)
Jammu - India

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0191-2532400 / 2533252

14th April, 2004(Baisakh 2nd, Kashmiri Pandit Nirvasan Samvat-15)

Invocation

यज्ञस जपस व्यवहारस्यै ग्वड चैयै स्वरान प्रथ कारस्यै ।
कारस अनान छुख चयै जमा ओम श्री गणेशाय नमः ।।

We reverently bow to you, gracious Lord Ganesh,
And seek your kind help, ever and always.

All matters, spiritual and mundane,
Be they sacred oblations,
Or musings of a higher import,
Or be they acts of worldly concern --
All these are preceded
By an ardent invocation of your name,
For, all our pursuits on various planes
See their fulfilment and fruition
Through your free flowing grace.

We offer our humble obeisance
To you, gracious Lord Ganesh.

* * *

INTRODUCTION

Realities are, at times, stranger than fiction. Kashmiri Pandits, the aboriginal inhabitants of Kashmir, could have never imagined even in the wildest of their dreams, in this modern age of reason and enlightenment, that they would be pushed out, at gunpoint, and forced to live outside the Valley, the place of their birth and the ancient abode of their forefathers, with the status of refugees in their own country.

The forced exodus of the Kashmiri Pandits in 1990, designed to effect the motivated ethnic cleansing, will go down, as yet another dark period, in the chequered history of these aborigines of Kashmir, who have been facing continual persecution and genocide for hundreds of years at the hands of Muslim rulers. The embers of hatred against the Kashmiri Pandit Community were never allowed to die down with the passage of time, but were, instead, caused to flare up every now and then, and, as a result, the members of this hapless community could neither escape the wrath of the public nor the perpetual fear and panic, and suffered in silence. The atrocities they were subjected to reached their peak, during the dark days of despotic rule of Muslim kings. But it is a tragic irony that they did not get any respite, even in the bright days of the enlightened modern times, especially in the post-independent days of their country, India.

After the accession of the J&K State to the Union of India, the claims of the leadership of the majority community to provide equality, liberty and protection of human rights to the Kashmiri Pandit Community, proved a hoax. A well orchestrated campaign, by the majority rulers was launched against the Pandits in the shape of communal hatred, discrimination, humiliation, ridicule, and more importantly, the latter's systematic exclusion from various walks of life. This was followed by a tendencious design of desecration of temples, with usurpation of their premises, and encroachment of even the cremation grounds. All this was done by hooligans and the authorities looked helpless when they were approached by the Hindus for the redressal of their grievances. This was a covert scheme of smashing, by and by, all the social, religious and cultural symbols of the minority Pandit Community. Furthermore, the Pandits of Kashmir were subjected to communal violence

from time to time. The violence against them, for instance, in 1967 and 1986, engineered by communal elements, was a signal to the Kashmiri Pandits to leave the valley steadily. Their position, as the natives of their motherland, began to become insecure by 1986. But despite all these onslaughts, and the long drawn-out political and economic squeeze, the Pandits, deeply attached to their motherland, Kashmir, took every kind of motivated harassment in their stride, and tried to co-exist with the Muslim majority. The intrinsic love of their sacred land compelled them to make compromises on every front.

This process of 'slow poisoning' of the Pandits, in different fields of life, reached its climax when gun-wielding terrorists appeared on the scene in 1989. They used different strategies to effect ethnic cleansing of the minority community. They harassed and threatened, maimed and killed, lynched and looted a large number of Kashmiri Pandits. The terror-stricken Pandits ran for life, leaving their homes and hearths behind them. They sought refuge in Jammu, Delhi and elsewhere in the country. After the cleansing process was completed, the terrorists and their sympathisers began another process of eliminating all chances of the Kashmiri Pandits' return in the near or distant future by burning the latter's houses, and occupying those which could not be torched because of their close proximity to the houses of the majority community. The canard spread by the State government and some vested interests that the Muslims of Kashmir are waiting, with open arms to receive the Pandits, is misleading. If it were so, these Muslims would not have, in desperate haste, purchased the immovable properties of the helpless Kashmiri Pandits, and this process is still going on. They are thus engaged in destroying the roots of the aboriginal natives of the valley without any qualms of conscience. The magnitude of the agony and trauma of the displaced Pandits, who have been languishing in forced exile for the last fifteen years, is too profound to be gauged. The Central as well as the State government has done precious little for the rehabilitation of the K.P. Community which has contributed, in a big way, to the freedom struggle of India against the British imperialism, and also to the national reconstruction in the post Independent era. Human memory is short and so is, unfortunately, the memory of our leaders.

The forced migration of 1990 left the Kashmiri Pandit Community shattered physically and psychologically. A couple of social organizations worked, day and night, on voluntary basis to bring succour to the exiled. They worked relentlessly for the rehabilitation of the unfortunate community. Their struggle is still going on.

It took sometime for the leadership of the community to put across its considered views on the ultimate resettlement of the entire Kashmiri Pandit Community in Kashmir on its own terms. A number of resolutions were passed and memoranda submitted to the authorities in 1990-91.

It was in 1994 that Panun Kashmir Movement(PKM), a frontline organisation began to work purposefully, and in right earnest, in different fields. Its multidimensional activities are documented in a voluminous material collected over the years, which reflects the persistent efforts of the organisation in the human rights, socio-economic and political areas, involving a vast spectrum of activities like political resolutions passed from time to time; interactions through correspondence, and interface sessions, with various organisations, political personages and individuals of consequence, inside and outside the country, focusing on the human rights violations of the Kashmiri Pandit Community; the genesis of the forced mass exodus of 1989-90 with its disastrous ramifications for the community; series of communications with the National Human Rights Commission(NHRC) and the latter's positive responses ; court cases fought; the callous indifference and apathy of the State government; exposition of the violations of human rights committed against the Kashmiri Pandits, by the Panun Kashmir Movement(PKM) at various fora etc.

Sh. Ashwani Kumar Chrungoo, President, Panun Kashmir Movement(PKM) presented the case of the human rights violations committed against the Pandits of Kashmir in the **Conference on Human Rights** held in July 2003 under the aegis of GLOBAL HUMAN RIGHTS DEFENCE(GHRD) which is an international network on human rights, based at The Hague, Netherlands. It is a matter of satisfaction and pride for our organisation (PKM) that its President, Sh. Ashwani Kumar Chrungoo, has been appointed the Representative of the GHRD for India, in recognition of his untiring efforts in the field of human rights and

especially for giving wide publicity, inside and outside the country, to the blatant violations of the human rights against his fellow Kashmiri Pandits.

It was our long cherished desire to sift the massive material in our possession and compile the most important documents in the shape of a book for full information of our readers within and outside India, regarding the forced mass exodus of Kashmiri Pandits and other allied matters.

It gives us satisfaction and pleasure to bring out the first edition of the book **KASHMIR DOCUMENTATION Pandits in Exile** for our readers.

Prof. M.L.Raina
Editor

.....And we prosper

The struggle is in our history and in our hearts. We can no longer allow petty selfishness and fear to confine the immensity of our compassion. We are at our best when we no longer endure injustice, when we take the moral high road, when we see the world as one family-then, we move ahead together and we prosper.

***-Mickey Leland
Congressman***

SECTION –I
HUMAN RIGHTS CONCERNS

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SECTION – I

HUMAN RIGHTS CONCERNS

"In keeping silent about evil, in burying it so deep within us that no sign of it appears on the surface, we are implanting it, and it will rise again a thousand fold in future. When we neither punish nor reproach the evil doers, we are ripping the foundations of justice of which no trace will be left for our future generations for protection against evil."

– Alexander Solzhenitsin
Nobel laureate

The Process in Progress

Pt. Kalhana initiated a process to document events about Kashmir and the thread was picked up by Jonaraja, Prajhatt, Shuka and Shrivara....

In this section of the document, the Panun Kashmir Movement(PKM) has made an effort to put on record the facts concerning human rights violations of the Kashmiri Pandit community. We enjoin upon all to pick up the thread and initiate a process to save this community of aborigines of Kashmir – the Kashmiri Pandits, with a recorded and written history of more than five thousand years, from annihilation and extinction and thereby the human values and peace from further plunder and devastation.

REPORT

(On Human Rights Violations in Kashmir)

PANUN KASHMIR MOVEMENT (PKM)

Central Camp Office : Jammu (INDIA)

PART -I

Fourth Memorandum For submission To The Hon'ble Chairman and members of the National Human Rights Commission(NHRC), New Delhi, 20th December, 1995.

1. A delegation of Panun Kashmir Movement(PKM) led by Shri Ashwani Kumar Chrungoo, Convener (PKM) submitted its first memorandum to the Commission on March 7, 1994. The delegation was joined by the representatives of AIKS and Kashmiri Samiti. Delhi.
2. As a follow-up action, Panun Kashmir Movement(PKM) submitted second detailed Memorandum to NHRC on its visit to Jammu on June 7th, 94.
3. After a long drag of one and a half years of correspondence and pursuance, Panun Kashmir Movement (PKM) delegation met the Secretary General of the Commission on Oct. 15th, 1995 at New Delhi and submitted its third Memorandum.
4. The delegation of Panun Kashmir Movement(PKM) again met the full Commission, on the latter's invitation, at New Delhi on 16th Nov. '95. Panun Kashmir Movement(PKM) in its discussion with the members of the Commission reiterated its request that the Commission may:
 - a) in pursuance of the powers vested in the Commission vide Proviso (a) of sub section (i) of section 17 of the Protection of Human rights Act 1993 initiate a suo- motto enquiry into the;

- i) Genocide
- ii) Exodus and
- iii) Apartheid

of the Kashmiri Hindu Community

- b) consider to fix a time frame for finalisation of its finding/report;
- c) fix up the responsibilities in regard to human rights violations committed against us and review the factors that inhibit to enjoy the human rights and
- d) recommend appropriate remedial measures to redress the wrongs and humiliations suffered by the Kashmiri Hindu Community.

The discussions with the Commission included the matters regarding promotions of Kashmiri Hindu Government and Semi Govt. officials, traders, students, un-employed youths, agriculturalists and orchardists. The Commission desired the delegation to furnish some detailed information and data.

Panun Kashmir Movement(PKM) is of the belief that the misery of the displaced community of Kashmiri Hindus is quite visible to need any statistical backing or proof ordinarily. However, we submit as desired and annex here as part II with this memorandum, the requisite material for the information and necessary action of the Commission.

It is as follows:-

Part II

Sec.1 GENOCIDE

- a) Killings of Hindus in Kashmir.
- b) Destruction of Cultural symbols. (Shrines of Kashmir).

Sec. 2 EXODUS

- a) Collapse of administration.
- b) Statistical data.
- c) Extermination
(Burning of Hindu properties in Kashmir).

Sec-3 APARTHEID

- a) Effects of Exodus.
- b) Problems of students.
- c) Discrimination.

Panun Kashmir Movement(PKM), through this fourth memorandum, submits to the Commission to consider our request with understanding and prudence and initiate an exercise to save this full fledged community from annihilation and extinction.

The copies of this Memorandum (i.e., Part-1 of the document) are simultaneously circulated to the press and public for information, while we reserve the right to make public part II of this document in near future.

We are of the understanding that the National Human Rights Commission is a sacred product of an Act of Parliament, and therefore have high expectations of the sense of justice of the Commission. The representatives of the Kashmiri Pandit Community have been highlighting the issue of the Human Rights violations, committed by Islamic fundamentalists and terrorists, on various available forums in the past and will continue to do so in future as well. Panun Kashmir Movement(PKM) also shall continue to do so for apprising and approaching the available national forums, for redressal of the grievances, as well as the international forums to the establishment of which or to the aims and objectives of which the State of India is a signatory.

Regards

For and on behalf of Kashmiri Hindu Community.

(Ashwani Kumar Chrungoo)
Convener

(B. L. Koul)
Sr. Advisory Member

(S. Raina)
Gen.Secretary

(S. Krishan Koul)
Secy., Press & Publicity

(Vijay Handoo)
North-India Coordinator

Part -II

Sec. 1 GENOCIDE

Genocide is destruction in whole or in part of a national, ethnic, racial or religious group. The terrorist violence in Kashmir has involved mass massacre of the members of the Hindu minorities at the hands of the Kashmiri Muslim terrorist groups. Genocide includes:

- i. Killing members of a community or a group because of their affiliations;
- ii. Causing bodily or mental harm to the members of a community or a group;
- iii. Deliberately inflicting conditions on the community or the group to bring about its physical destruction;
- iv. Imposing measures to prevent births in the community or the group;
- v. Forcibly transferring children from one group to another.

The State of India is a signatory to the Universal Declaration of Human Rights, United Nations Covenants on Human Rights, The Charter of United Nations, the International Covenant on Civil and Political Rights and the International Covenant on Economic, Social and Cultural Rights adopted by the General Assembly of the United Nations on the 16th Dec. 1966. On the one hand responsibility of violation of human rights in the J&K State rests upon the terrorist organizations and the supporting structures and on the other hand there is colossal failure of the Indian State and its organs.

The fundamental violations in this regard can be listed under two broad headings:

- a) Killings of Hindus in Kashmir.
- b) Destruction of Cultural Symbols (Shrines of Kashmir).

a) Killings of Hindus in Kashmir

The terrorist killings have been accompanied by torture unheard of in the annals of human history. Torture deaths have been brought about by inhuman practices described below:-

- i. Strangulation by using steel wires;
- ii. Lynching;
- iii. Branding with red hot irons;
- iv. Draining of blood;
- v. Slicing;
- vi. Gouging of eyes before assassination;
- vii. Breaking of limbs;
- viii. Slaughter;
- ix. Hanging;
- x. Dragging to death;
- xi. Dismemberment of body;
- xii. Drowning alive;
- xiii. Burning alive;
- xiv. Impaling.

(For list of killings –see Annexure – A)

b) Destruction of Cultural Symbols (Shrines of Kashmir)

Historic Perspective – Preliminary Remarks

Desecration, damage and destruction of temples is not a new and unusual phenomenon. The process has been continuously going on ever since Kashmir passed into the political domination of Muslim rulers in the first quarter of the fourteenth century.

Islam like other Semitic religions enjoins upon the faithfuls to expand their religion by proselytizing the heathens, infidels and 'Kafirs' (non-believers) to their faith to gain religious merit. "Jihad" or holy war is the instrument that is used for proselytization. The

Muslim rulers of Kashmir, the Mughals and Pathans made full use of their political authority to effect conversion of Hindus of the Valley. To achieve the objectives, it became imperative for them to wipe out all traces of religious and cultural symbols of Hindus which included their temples, libraries, universities and ashrams etc.

In Kashmir, gun powder was used for the first time not for fighting a war but for destroying massive Hindu stone temples. When it was felt that the fissionable material was not available in a sufficient quantity for the iconoclasm, the nearby jungles were cut and used for setting on fire the giant stone structures of the Hindu temples. By excessive heat the stones burst, broke-away and crumbled these gigantic structures that spread through the length and breadth of Kashmir. The ruins of Martand, Avantipur, Devar etc. are mute witnesses of the depredation.

Desecration of Hindu temples in Kashmir from the advent of Islam 1339. A.D.

(The following brief is based on the recorded findings of historians including Muslim chroniclers and foreign non-Hindu travellers).

TAPER TEMPLES

Sikandar the iconoclast desecrated and destroyed this temple which was built by Queen of Partapaditya II who reigned in Kashmir from 634 to 648 A.D.

Zain- Ul-Abdin (1420-70) A. D. used stones and idols in the construction of the Bund from the Naidkhai to Sopore.

SHANKARACHARYA MANDIR (Srinagar).

Noor Jehan, Queen of Jhangir built the grand Mosque known as Pather Masjid (Srinagar) with the sculptured beautiful stones which formed steps of the Mandir right from river Jhelum to the top of the hill.

NARPARISTHAN MANDIR (Srinagar)

Built by Likhana-Naraindraditya who reigned Kashmir from 178 to 191 A.D. has been turned into a Muslim ziarat called Narparisthan.

KALI MANDIR (Srinagar)

Quab-ud-din usurped it in (1373-89) A. D. to be converted into a mosque in memory of Mir Sayed Ali of Hamdan of Persia who had come to the Valley to establish Islam. Hindu king Pravarsena II had dedicated the Kali- Shrine to the Goddess Kali (79-139 A.D.).

MAHARISHI MANDIR (Srinagar)

It was turned into a graveyard. Wife of Sikander was buried in its interior.

SKANDA BHAWAN (Srinagar Down-town)

Its sacred springs and massive temple construction were desecrated and spoilt. It was christened as Ziarat of Pir Mohd. Basur.

TRIBHAWANA-SVAMIN (Srinagar Down-town)

This temple built by Chandrapida (684 to 693 A.D.) was laid to ruins and its vast vicinity used as a graveyard.

KSHANA – GANVISHVARA

Built in (950-58A.D.) was desecrated, its sculptured stones removed. DIDDAMATHA (down –town Srinagar) Temple was converted into Tomb of Malik Sahib.

VIKRAMISHVERA (VICHARNAG)

Built (521-63 A.D.) It was destroyed by Sikander and its material utilized to build a mosque nearby.

AMRIT BHAWAN

Constructed by Queen Magavahana (22 B.C-13 A.D.)

There are other ruins of Hindu temples in its vicinity which have been converted into Ziarats and burial grounds and nothing is known about their antiquity.

RANESHVARA (SHALIMAR GARDEN)

Built by king Ramadatiya (414-74 A.D.)

On the North Eastern corner of the Dal Lake, Pravarsena II, the founder of Srinagar had built a Villa for a Hindu saint named Sukarna Swami. Bernier, who visited Kashmir with Aurangzeb, gives an interesting account of the garden in his travels and says that the doors and pillars made of stone used in the garden during Mughal era had come from some of the idol temples demolished by Shah Jehan and that it was impossible to estimate their value.

MARTAND

Built by King Ramadeva (2936-3005 B.C.) with large ornamented and beautifully carved stones erecting it to the height of 50 yards. Regarding this British Researcher Sir Walter Lawrence has remarked thus:-

“While the old Hindu buildings defy time and weather, the Muslman shrines and mosques crumble away. Other foreign travellers have recorded that Hindu temples were built to endure for all time. Their solidity of construction and their gigantic size strike one with wonder that a puny man could have built them. They often gazed upon them with amazement and lamented bigoted Muslim fanatics who laid them to ruins with tremendous efforts”.

TEMPLE OF BUZMA

It was usurped and converted into the Ziarat of Baba Bamdin. Another temple close by was turned into the tomb of Rukh Din, disciple of Muslim Priest Bamdin.

SHRINE AROUND DAL LAKE

The slopes of the mountains overlooking the Dal Lake have adorned many ancient shrines mercilessly destroyed by bigoted Muslim fanatics.

SHARDA UNIVERSITY AND ACADEMY OF LEARNING AT VIJAISHORI, NOW BIJBEHARA

Sir Walter Lawrance records in his "Vale of Kashmir" that all books of Hindu learning which bigoted Muslims could lay their hands on were sunk in the Dal Lake and Sikander flattered himself that he had extirpated Hinduism from the Valley. Alberuni, an Arab scholar, recording his visit to Kashmir has stated that in all their grandeur the Hindus of Kashmir never slackened in their ardent desire of doing that which was good and right. He also records they were men of noble sentiments and noble bearing. Books of science, astronomy, space travel, medicine and the like were destroyed –the labour of countless ages and countless researchers.

We quote hereunder from the world famous work of **Mr. M.A. Stein "Rajtarangini – Kalhana"** (Volume II),-Moti Lal Banarsidass Publishers, Pvt. Ltd. Delhi –reprint 1989.

HILL OF SARIKA

Eastern slopes of the latter are now occupied by extensive buildings connecting famous ziarats of Maqaddam Sahib and Akhun Mullah Shah. It is probable that Mohammadan shrines have taken here place of Hindu religious buildings, just as at so many old sides of Kashmir.

Close to the foot of the southern extremity of the hill is a rock which has from ancient times received worship as an embodiment of Ganesa under the name of BHIMASVAMIN In fact, if we are to believe Jonaraja, the rock image has changed its position yet a second time. This chronicler relates that BHIMASVAMIN from disgust at the iconoclasm of Sikander Butshikast finally turned his back on city.

Page 446, Para 95

TEMPLE OF SIVA PRAVARESVARA

A short distance to the S.E. of the BHIMASVAMIN rock and outside Akbar's fortress, lies the Ziarat of Bahu-ud-din Sahib, built undoubtedly with the materials of an ancient temple. The cemetery which surrounds it contains also many ancient remains in its tombs and walls. At the S.W. corner of this cemetery rises a ruined gateway, built of stone blocks of remarkable size, and still of considerable height. This structure is traditionally believed by the Srinagar Pandits to have belonged to the Temple of SIVA PRAVARESVARA which Kalahana mentions as the first Shrine erected by PRAVARESVARA in his new capital.

Blocks majoring up to sixteen feet in length, with a width and thickness equally imposing, were not convenient materials for the builders of Muhammadan Ziarats, hammams etc. who have otherwise done so much to efface the remains of ancient structures in Srinagar. The position of the ruins is very central and might have well been chosen by the founder of Pravarapura for prominent shrine in his new city.

POSITION OF RAMASVAMIN TEMPLE.

Not far from Baha-ud-din Sahib's Ziarat, to the S.W. stands Jamia Masjid, the greatest Mosque of Srinagar. Around it numerous ancient remains attest the former existence of Hindu Temples. Proceeding still further to S.W. in the midst of a thickly built city-quarter, we reach an ancient shrine which has remained in a comparatively fair state of preservation, probably owing to its conversion into a Ziarat. It is now supposed to mark the resting-place of the saint styled Pir Haji Muhammad. It consists of an octagonal cellar of which high basement and the side walls are still preserved. The quadrangular court in which it stands is enclosed by ancient walls and approached by an ornamented gateway. The position of this shrine has suggested me its possible identity with the ancient temple of VISNU RANASVAMIN which Kalhana mentions as founded by Ranaditya. This temple must have enjoyed considerable celebrity up to a comparatively late period. Mankha refers to it as an object of his father's devotion, and Jonaraja in his comments on the passage speaks of VISNU RANASVAMIN as one of the

chief shrines of Pravarapura. The evidence on which the suggested identification is based has been fully indicated in note iii.453. Page 447, Para 96.

SKANDABHAVANA

The site of Vihara has been traced by me in the close vicinity of Ziarat Pir Muhammad Basur. Certain ancient remains there were locally known and worshiped till the middle of the present century as a tirth sacred to Skanda. Near the SKANDAABHAVANVIHARA there stood once the temple of Sivaparavaguptesvara referred to by Kalhana as a foundation of King Paravagupta.

Page 448, Para 97

SAMUDRAMATHA

A little higher up, if we can trust local tradition, stood the ancient temple of VARDHAMANESA mentioned already in King SAMDHIMAT'S reign. The site so designated by the purohits of the adjoining Mohalla is close to the Malyar ghat. I have referred already in a previous note to the curious manner in which an ancient Linga supposed to be that of VARDHAMANESA was recovered a few years ago from a neighbouring mosque and a mahatmaya composed for the newly established shrine.

Page 450 Para 99

JUSKAPURA

A tradition, recorded already by General Cunningham, identifies this place (Zukur) with ancient JUSKAPURA. Kalhana names the place as a foundation of Turuska (i.e., Kusana) King Juska who also built Vihara there. The Muhammaddan shrines and tombs of the village contain considerable remains of the ancient buildings.

Page 456, Para 104

AMARESVARA

On the shore of the Anchar lies the large village of Amburher; it took its name from a temple of Siva Amaresvara which Suryamati, Anantas queen, endowed with Agraharas and a

matha. The ancient slabs and sculptured fragments which I found in 1895 in and around the Ziyarat of Forrukhazad Sahib, may possibly have belonged to this temple.

Page 456, 457 Para 104

VICHARNAG

It is held to be a manifestation of Ailapattra Nag who is mentioned also in Nilamata. An earlier designation seems to be MUKAMULAKANAGA which is given to the locality by Srivara and in the Tirthasamgraha. To the west of the village and near an inlet of Anchar are the ruins of three ancient temples now converted into ziarats and tombs.

TIRTHA OF SODARA:

Close to the mosque of Sodārbal and by the lake shore are two pools fed by perennial springs. These according to local tradition, were in old times visited by numerous pilgrims. Now all recollection of this tirtha has been lost among the Brahmins of Srinagar. But a name of the portion of the village area, Battapor, points to a former settlement of Battas or Purohits. It is curious too that we find only half a mile from the village the ziarats of Hazratbal, perhaps the most popular of all Muhammadan shrines in the valley. It is supposed to be built over the remains of the miracle-working Pir Dastagir Sahib. Is it possible that the presence of the rather ubiquitous saint at this particular spot had something to do with the earlier Hindu Tirtha.

Page 457, Para 104

PADMAPURA

The chief place of Vihi Pargana is now the town of Pampar, the ancient Padmapura, about 4 miles south west of Khunomoh. It was founded in the beginning of 9th century by Padma, the powerful uncle of puppet King Cippata/ Jayapida. Padma is said by the chronicle to have also built a temple of Visnu-Padmasvamin. To this may possibly have belonged the scanty remains of an ancient temple which have been described by General Cunningham.

SANARA.

Only a mile to the South east of Khruv is the village of Sar, until recently the seat of flourishing iron-industry. Kalhana mentioned it by the name of Sanara an Agrahara founded by king Sacinara ----- . The ziarat of Khwaja Khizar which stands here near small springs is built with the remains of the Hindu Temple.

Page 459, Para 105

About two miles south-west of Sar are found the well preserved ruins of a temple near the village Ladu (not marked on survey map). They have been described by Bishop Cowie, but I am unable to trace any old reference to this shrine in the texts I have examined. It is remarkable for having a circular cellar, the only one known to me in Kashmir. A small square cellar to the east of this temple has been annexed to a neighboring ziarat.

Page 459-60, Para 105

CAKRADHARA

It was once the site of one of the oldest and most famous shrines of the valley, the temple of Visnu Cakradhara ---- the plateau is still as TSAKDAR UDAR ----- . The shrine of Cakardhara is often mentioned as Tirtha of great sanctity. The temple seems to have been subsequently restored, and Jonaraja mentions the statue of CAKRADHARA among those chief divine images which Skandar Butshikast destroyed.

Page 461-62, Para 107

TEMPLE OF SIVA VIJAYESVARA

The old Linga of Siva Vijayesvera seems to have been destroyed by Skander Butshikast.

Page 464, Para 109

DISTRICT OF VAMAPARVA

It forms the modern Pargana of Khovurpor. An old site, undoubtedly the large village of Hutmar. Its modern name seems to identify it with the SAKTAMATA which Ksemendra

names as one of the stations in peregrinations of his heroine Kankali. The chief mosque of the place is built with the remains of a Hindu temple and preserves in its walls some sculptured fragments of remarkable beauty.

SHRINE OF BHIMAKESAVA

About a mile below Hutmar and on the bank of a branch of Līder lies the hamlet of Bumzu which contains an ancient structure of considerable historical interest. The ziarat of Baba Bamdin Sahib is nothing but a well preserved resting place of a Muhammadan saint.

Page 465, Para 110

TEMPLE OF MARTANDA

The ancient remains at the sacred spring itself are very scanty. All the more imposing are the ruins of the great temple which King Lalitaditya erected at a short distance of the presiding deity of the tirtha. The destruction of the sacred image is ascribed to Sikander Butshikast. Page 166, Para 111

SAMANGASA

About four miles to the north east of Kothar and on a branch of Arpath river lies the populous village of Sangas, the ancient Samagasa ---- some old carved slabs built into the chief ziarat of the place attest its antiquity. Page 467, 468, Para 112

DISTRICT OF KARALA

In the lower portion of the district and on the left bank of Visoka, we have the ancient Katimusa, the present village of Kaimuh. The place is mentioned by Kalhana as Agrahara, founded by Tunjina I, and contains some old remains built into its chief ziarat.

Page 471, Para 116

PARIHASAPURA

It has received its name from the ancient Parihasapura which King Lilitaditya had built as his capital. The identity of the names Parspor and Parihasapura is evident on phonetic grounds, and was well known to the authors of the Persian abstracts of Rajatarangni. Yet curiously enough the site of Parihasapura had remained unidentified until I visited the spot in 1892 and traced the ruins of Lilitaditya's great structures as described by Kalhana on the Plateau known as Paraspor Udar. **The full destruction of the temples is attributed by Abu-I-Fazal and the Muhammadan chroniclers to Sikandar Butshikast.**

Page 477 and 478, Para 121

VARAHAMULA

Varahamula, situated on the right river bank, has left its name to the present town of Varahmul, usually called Baramulla by Punjabis and other foreigners. The ancient temple of Varaha which seems to have been one of the most famous shrines of Kashmir, is repeatedly mentioned by Kalhana. According to the tradition of the local Purohits it stood near the site of the present Kotithirtha, at the western extremity of the town and close to the river bank. Some ancient Lingas and sculptures found at Kotitirtha may have originally belonged to the temple. The destruction of its sacred image is noted by Jonaraja in the reign of Skandar-Butshikast.

Page 482-483, Para 124

After India achieved freedom and Kashmir acceded to the Union of India, temple desecration was resumed. Temple lands, cremation grounds etc. of Hindus were usurped for expansion of Islam. The famous Bhairavnath Temple of Chattabal, Srinagar was got locked through police. The judicial case pending in court concerning this temple was never allowed to be decided. Precious lands around Hari Parbat hill, Durganag Temple of Srinagar and lands at several Hindu places of worship in the valley were slowly and steadily turned into lands under occupation of Muslim trusts (Maqboozai-Ahali-Islam). In 1967 Shivala Temple, Chotta Bazar, Srinagar was desecrated. Again in 1984 Shri Hanuman Temple at Hari Singh High Street was damaged and in the same year Arya Samaj Temple of Wazir Bagh, Srinagar was

burnt. From 1986, the law and order situation in the Valley deteriorated day by day and temple desecration became the order of the day.

Temples Vandalised in Feb. 1986
--

ANANTNAG DISTRICT

1.	Anantnag Town:	Two temples damaged and one looted.
2.	Achhabal:	One temple desecrated, shit thrown on idols.
3.	Moripura:	One temple demolished.
4.	Sagam:	One temple partially burnt.
5.	Naogam:	One temple partially burnt.
6.	Telvani:	One temple partially burnt.
7.	Gautamnag:	One two-storied temple burnt and Dharamshala stoned.
8.	Krangsoo	Pujari Baba of a temple beaten.
9.	Akura(Mattan)	One temple and its entire property looted, and shed set on fire.
10.	Dialgam:	One temple heavily damaged by stoning.
11.	Salar:	One temple set on fire.
12.	Aishmuqam:	One temple set on fire.
13.	Bijbehara Town:	Two temples completely looted, ancient idol valued at more than Rs.10 Lakh, broken. Jai Devi Temple desecrated and idol stolen.
14.	Wanpoh(Gasipura):	Two temples and Samadhi of Swami Dama Kak, completely burnt.
15.	Dhanav (Bogund):	Two temples and one Dharamashala burnt.
16.	Chogam:	One temple stoned; its doors, windows and three pillars broken.

17.	Verinag:	One temple on the parikrama of the holy spring damaged, doors broken, idols thrown into the spring. Pawan Sandhya, a religious teerth converted into a place for construction of mosque.
18.	Larkipora:	Three temples of Goddess Durga, Siddha Lakshimi and Shiva completely burnt, idols broken into pieces.
19.	Fatehpura:	One temple completely burnt alongwith its entrance gate, Ancient Shiva idol broken to pieces.
20.	Quill(Pulwama):	One temple damaged partially.
21.	Trisal:	One temple stoned, compound wall of another temple damaged.
22.	Pawan Sandhya:	Converted into Mosque.

SRINAGAR DISTRICT

23.	Ganpatyar (Srinagar):	Temple heavily stoned.
24.	Jawahar Nagar:	Shiv Mandir desecrated and damaged; its property brought out and consigned to flames.
25.	Maisuma:	Dashnami Akhara, from where Charri Mubarak leaves for Holy Amarnath Cave, burnt down.
26.	Raghunath Mandir:	Damaged by stoning.
27.	Tulamulla:	One temple in the village burnt.
28.	Waskura:	The famous temple of Mata Rupa Bhawani partially burnt.
29.	Gandherbal:	Two temples burnt and two temples damaged.

BUDGAM DISTRICT

30	Yachhgam:	One temple partially damaged
31.	Badgam Town:	Sharda temple damaged
32.	Chadura:	One temple damaged

KUPWARA DISTRICT

33.	Tekpora:	One temple burnt.
34.	Lalpura:	One temple burnt.
35.	Handwara:	One temple damaged.

BARAMULLA DISTRICT

36.	Baramulla Town:	One temple partially damaged.
37.	Venkura:	One temple fully damaged.
38.	Sopore:	One temple partially damaged.
39.	Bandipora:	One temple partially burnt.

**Temples desecrated, damaged or destroyed in response to community calls for
"Jihad" from 1987 to 1990**

1. Sri Puran Raja Bhairav at Hawal, Srinagar (Completely burnt)
2. Vandev Mandir, Hari Parbat (Completely burnt)
3. Kathlishwar Mandir, Zaindar Mohalla, Srinagar (partly damaged)
4. Gouri Shanker Mandir, Kani-Kadal (damaged)
5. Somyar Mandir, Habba Kaddal shopping complex (completely burnt)
6. Shiv Mandir, Shetalnath, Srinagar (burnt)
7. Shiv Mandir, Malapora, Srinagar (burnt)
8. Shailputri Asthapan, Mandir Baramulla (burnt)
9. Gautam Nag Mandir, Anantnag. Attacks have been frequent.
10. Raghunath Mandir, Anantnag. Attacks have been frequent.

11. Tikipora Mandir, Kupwara.
12. Sri Lakshmi Narayan Mandir, Bulbul Lankar, Srinagar. Ancient priceless idol removed by breaking one of the Temple walls.
13. Temple at Shopian with four buildings and shopping complex burnt. The Mahant at Napli mercilessly beaten, a South Indian Sadhu assisting the Mahant asked to kill a cow. Pine, walnut, apple, kikar and popular trees spread over 18 Kanals of temple land to a great extent destroyed. The Sadhu identified some people of Danda Mohalla mainly one Hussan Dand and Kuda Dand leading the mob besides Jamait-Islami workers on the carnage.
14. Idols in Shiv Mandir, Batayar desecrated.
15. Holy spring with Shiva idol desecrated at Khrew resulting in Hindu Muslim conflict in the village.

Temples desecrated and damaged in Kashmir from 1990-Dec.1992

1. DASHNAMI AKHARA, Srinagar.

On the opposite side of the shopping complex of Aukaf building, housing a library. Reading Room and an office of Jamait-Islami, lies the age old Akhara in Budshah Chowk, Srinagar. The temple in the Akhara is surrounded by three storied shopping-cum-hotel-cum-office complex on three sides. There is a beautiful park in the premises, dharamshalas for Sadhus, residence of the Mahant etc. The Akhara has provided a vast area to Suraj Transport Company for godowns and parking space on rent.

The Akhara has been a chronic eyesore to the Jamait-Islami. It was attacked countless times but in early 1990, mobs forced entry into the premises causing a devastating fire, and loss of property in crores in godowns and a portion of Mahant residence. C.R.P.F suffered heavy-injuries protecting the temple.

2. GANPATYAR TEMPLE

Ganapatyar has been attracting mob attacks right from 1953. Al-aksa episode, Satanic verses, Zia's death, fall of east Pakistan, defeat of Pakistan in cricket etc. have been the

causes. From the onset of insurgency it was stoned, attacked by bomb blasts and rockets at various occasions but CRPF in one of its Dharamshallas saved the shrine at great cost.

3. RAGHUNATH MANDIR, SRINAGAR

The school caught fire when the Dharamshalla of the temple was set on fire in early 1990 while worshipping in the Temple attendance was forbidden. However, the worshipers refused to stop worship. The premises were set on fire.

4. SHIV TEMPLE, JAWAHAR NAGAR, SRINAGAR

The property in the Dharamshalla was brought out along with some Puja material and idols from the Temple; some removed and some consigned to flames.

5. HANUMAN MANDIR, SRINAGAR

Desecrated long before the start of insurgency which necessitated round the clock CRPF Guard. The massive Panchamukhi Hanuman idol suffered some damage in early 1990.

6. SHIV TEMPLE, BARBAR SHAH, SRINAGAR

It was desecrated a number of times. What is desecrated is not safe. Desecration itself is a heinous sacrilege.

7. JAI DEVI TEMPLE, BIJBEHARA

Desecrated, idols stoned, compound wall broken in 1986.

8. VIJESHWAR TEMPLE, BIJBEHARA

Night soil was thrown on 10 Shiv Lingas inside the Temple in 1986, and compound wall broken.

9. SHIV MANDIR BIJBEHARA

Ancient idols valued over Rs. 10 lakhs in the shrine were looted in 1986.

10. RAGHUNATH TEMPLE, ANANTNAG.

According to Mahant Sukhram and other sources, mostly Muslims, it suffered 9 bomb attacks, 7 blasts. Police station, Anantnag, Refer FIR No.307/427 dated 9-1-91.

11. GAUTAM NAG TEMPLE, ANANTNAG.

The double storey temple (60X40) was burnt to ashes in presence of Homeguards personnel, and property loss was estimated to the tune of Rs. 28 Lakhs leaving aside priceless ancient manuscripts in Sanskrit and Sharda. The orchard on 145 canals of land with thirty thousand fruit trees was mercilessly attacked by fanatical mobs leaving hardly three thousand trees to survive.

12. THREE TEMPLES OF LUKHBHAVAN, LARKIPURA, ANANTNAG.

Damaged in 1986. Subsequently repaired. Dharamshala burnt, temple suffered some damage again in 1992.

13. WANPOH MANDIR, ANANTNAG.

Damaged in 1986. Subsequently repaired. The idols have been desecrated publicly in respect of this shrine on 21-2-1992, according to sources.

14. SHAILPUTRI TEMPLE, BARAMULLA.

Damaged in 1990.

15. DAYALGAM MANDIR, ANANTNAG.

It was stoned heavily but somehow not razed to the ground.

16. BHAIKAVANTH MANDIR, BARAMULLA
Damaged in 1990.
17. BHAIKAVANTH MANDIR, SOPORE.
Desecrated and damaged.
18. RUPABHAVANI MANDIR, VASAKURA
Idols, Ashram utensils removed. Night soil thrown on the steps in early 1990, a dozen times. Protesting Hindus of the vicinity mercilessly beaten.
19. KHIRBHAVANI MANDIR, GANDERBAL
According to B.G.Verhghese "Its origin goes to epic times. The security forces in its precincts attracted rocket attacks on April 4, 1991, which chipped some concrete off the outer gate. It again came under attack on May 4. Bullet marks can be seen on the other structures".
20. SHIV TEMPLE, GANDERBAL
Desecrated and damaged.
21. MATTAN TEMPLE ANANTNAG
A mob entered the premises, after Nimaz, claiming it to be a Muslim shrine.

Minister of State for Home, Sh. M.M.Jacob told the Lok Sabha on 12-3-1993 that 38 places of worship were damaged in J&K State, 13 in 1989, 9 in 1990 and 16 in 1991.

Report of Sh. Sukh Ram Dass, Deputy Mahant, Gautamnag Ashram

One Sh. Sukh Ram Dass, Deputy Mahant, Gautamnag Ashram is also incharge of the Raghunath Mandir of Anantnag, Kashmir. He was kidnapped by Muslim insurgents on 6-3-1991, mercilessly beaten during his protracted interrogation. A date was fixed for executing him. He, however, managed his miraculous escape.

Gautamnag is an aeons-old shrine. Swami Sarawanand meditated here for sixty long years during Maharaja Partap Singh and Hari Singh's rule. He had made a big pond called "Lotus Lake". The lotus which grew here were of course more fascinating and awe-inspiring than those in the famed Dal Lake and Manasbal Lake of Kashmir.

The Shrine has been famous for its Gow-shallas, for centuries, for food and fruits lavishly served to pilgrims, Saints and Sadhus from all over the country, particularly during Shri Amarnath Ji Yatra. These food stuffs would, invariably, go to the needy Muslim neighbours, orphans and widows of all communities free of cost in absence of Ashram guests.

On Feb. 20, 1986 a two storeyed temple in the Ashram was razed to the ground by unruly Muslim mobs. The then Governor of J&K subsequently had a temple built on the debris of the burnt temples. The Deputy Mahant gives the dates of fire attacks during insurgency (from 1990) as under :-

12-12-90, 18-12-90, 6-1-91, 7-1-91, 18-1-91, 19-1-91, 27-1-91, 2-2-91, 19-2-91, 28-2-91, 28-2-91 and 6-3-1991.

BOMB BLASTS

On 8-6-1991 at 8:30 (which were repeated 9 times).

Grenade attacks on temples 21-6-91.

Petrol Bomb attacks: 12,13 and 23-11-1993 etc.

Deputy Mahant approached the authorities to shift ten starving cows to Jammu or elsewhere. Nobody listened to his request. "I then sought help from voluntary organizations. They readily managed shifting of cows to Jammu on their own expenses and at the greatest risk to their voluntary workers including truck drivers", says Sukh Ram. "The Governor of

J&K State promised me on 24-6-91 to have back side wall of the Ashram buildings repaired besides some essential construction in the premises done but the assurance turned out a hoax” adds the Deputy Mahant.

“On 15th September 1990, I submitted representation to the concerned police station and also to the D.I.G. Police, concerned, the Governor and others for raising the strength of CRPF personnel guarding the Ashram from 8 to 16. To my great surprise and shock entire CRPF was shifted on 30-10-1990 and replaced by local armed police personnel who looked with contempt towards me and the shrine.”

Sukh Ram says that he made frantic appeals to the President of India, Home Minister, Governor of J&K State and lot of others but nobody could be moved. The result was that a double storeyed house, cow-shed, shali store house, other minor constructions were reduced to ashes on 19-10-91 at dead of night under the nose of local guards who did not move even their little finger and even whisper while the carnage was on.

Sukh Ram says he met the Hon’ble Home Minister personally and several other Congress leaders and apprised them about the continued desecration to the temple and shrines in Kashmir but he was unable to evoke any response.

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DETAILS OF THE TEMPLES DESTROYED IN J&K STATE AFTER 6TH DEC. 1992
DISTRICT ANANTANAG:

S.No	Date of occurrence	Description of temple	FIR No.	Police Station
1	8-12-1992	One of Gouree Shankar temple	81/92	Pahalgam
2	10-12-1992	Two Shiv Jee Temples	278/92	Ananatnag
3	8/9-12/1992	Shiv jee Temple	45/92	Damhal Hanjipura
4	9-12-1992	Temple	45/92	Do
5	9-12-1992	Temple	46/92	Do
6	7/8-12-1992	Two Shiva Temples	165/92	Kulgam
7	7/8-12-1992	Shivala Temple	166/92	Kulgam
8	8/9-12-1992	Temples	168/92	Kulgam
9	8/9-12-1992	Shiv Temples	169/92	Kulgam
10	7/8-12-1992	Two Temples	172/92	Kulgam
11	7/8-12-1992	Shivalik Temple	173/92	Kulgam
12.	7/8-12-1992	Shiv Temple	42/92	Achabal
13	7/8-12-1992	Shiv Temple	43/92	Achabal
14	7-12-1992	Temple	80/92	Dooru
15	7-12-1992	Temple	81/92	Dooru
16	7/8-12-1992	Temple	84/92	Dooru
17	7/8-12-1992	Ganesh Temple	91/92	Dooru
18	7/8-12-1992	Ganesh Temple	86/92	Dooru
19	8-12-1992	Temple	93/92	Dooru
20	13-12-1992	Temple	45/92	Achabal
21	16-12-1992	Temple	46/92	Achabal

22	8-12-1992	Temple	93/92	Dooru
23	8-12-1992	Temple	171/92	Kulgam
24	8/9-12-1992	Temple	178/92	Kulgam
25	8-12-1992	Temple	40/92	Achabal
26	7/8-12-1992	Temple	167/92	Kulgam
27	8-12-1992	Temple	47/92	Hanjipora
28	7/8-12-1992	Temple	163/92	Kulgam

DISTRICT BARAMULLA:-

1	7/8-12-1992	Temple	185/92	Pattan
2	7/8-12-1992	Temple	186/92	Pattan
3	8-12-1992	Two Temples	78/92	Panzulla
4	8-12-1992	Temple	178/92	Sumbal
5	7-12-1992	Temple	188/92	Oattar
6	15-12-1992	Temple	71/92	Panzulla

DISTRICT SRINAGAR:-

1	18-12-1992	Temple Narayan Bagh	145/92	Ganderbal
2	18-12-1992	Shamshan Bhoomi	84/92	Karan Nagar
3	8-12-1992	Shiv Vashno Mandir, Bana Mohalla	265/92	S.R.Gunj

DISTRICT BUDGAM:-

1	7/8-12-1992	Temple	38/92	Chandpora
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DISTRICT KUPWARA:-

1	10-12-1992	Temple	--	Watipora
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TEMPLES VANDALISED IN KASHMIR AFTER DECEMBER 6, 1992
(SOURCE-LOCAL EYEWITNESSES OF CONCERNED PLACES)

S.No.	NAME OF TEMPLE	LOCATION VILLAGE/TOWN	DISTRICT	REMARKS
1	Vamu Mandir	Verinag	Anantnag	Ancient Idol publicly desecrated and then removed.
2	Temple on the Spring.	Verinag	Anantnag	Burnt.
3	Vitesta Mandir (Vetha Votur)	Verinag	Anantnag	Burnt. Temple as ancient as River Jehlum(Vitasta)
4	Buna Gund Mandir	Verinag	Anantnag	Burnt
5	Two Dharamshallas Manzgam Mandir	Tehsil Kulgam	Anantnag	This Temple is also known as Khir Bhawani Mandir. Burnt after removing whole movable property.

6	Uma Nagri	Brariangan	Anantnag	See Swami Syamananda's Letter sheet attached.
7	Kantiyani Mandir Under Dharamarth Trust	Kakran	Anantnag	Blasted and has got damaged.
8	Mirhama Mandir	Mirhama Kulgam	Anantnag	Burnt
9	Two ancient shrines	Hanand Chowalgam	Anantnag	Burnt
10	Kulwagishori Mandir Dharamshalla	Kulgam	Anantnag	Idols, pictures and scriptures, removed and burnt.
11	Devsar Mandir	Devsar Kulgam	Anantnag	Burnt
12	Ancient Temple of Tripursundri Khannabarni	Devsar Kulgam	Anantnag	Burnt to ashes along with three Dharamshallas and "Hawan" shed.
13.	Luka Bhawan	Larkipora	Anantnag	Three Temples and Dharamshalla burnt which were also damaged in 1986 and sub-sequently repaired

14	Botsar Mandir and Ashram	Uttarsoo	Anantnag	As per police control room written report, the temple, 8 houses, two cow sheds, 2 Kothars of minority community (which means Hindus) were set on fire.
15	Pahalgam Temple	Pahalagam	Anantnag	The tin shed of Pahalgam temple gutted partially. Fire was controlled by fire services as per police control room report.
16	Shiv Mandir	Sheer Gunj	Anantnag	As per police control room written report-the temple, 6 residential houses, 4 cow sheds, 2 kothars of minority community were set on fire on 8-12-92.
17	Ashmuji Mandir	Kulgam	Anantnag	Burnt along with Dharamshalla.
18	One Mandir	Chatargul	Anantnag	As per police control room, one temple at Chatargul, Achbal was set on fire.

19	One Mandir	Hard Chanan	Rafiabad Baramulla	Written report of police control, room- Baramulla confirms that militants attempted to set on fire temple at Hardchanan on 11-12/12/92 but got it partially damaged.
20	One temple	Palhalan	Baramulla	During the night intervening 9/10 Dec. 1992, militants set on fire a place of worship at village Palhalan (Pattan), reveals a written report of police control room.
21	One temple	Karihama	Baramulla	Burnt.
22	One temple	Kreri	Baramulla	Burnt.
23	Shiv Mandir	Baramulla	Baramulla	Burnt. This is also located on River Jehlum. (It is not Shailputri temple which was damaged in 1990).
24	Nandkishwar Bhirav Nath Mandir	Sumbal	-do-	Written report of Police control room reveals- it was set on fire on 8-12-92 but saved.

25	One temple	Nowgam	Budgam	Burnt.
26	One temple	Bana Mohalla	Srinagar	The Temple is on the bank of River Jehlum. Burnt by applying fire to varandah of a house of displaced Pandit touching the temple.
27	One Temple and shed at cremation site	Karan Nagar	Srinagar	According to police control room temple & shed gutted, cause of fire was mischievousness
28	Magarmal Bagh Mandir	Srinagar	Srinagar	Burnt. It is in the vicinity of police lines, Srinagar.
29	Kunzer Mandir	Kunzer	Baramulla	Burnt
30	Karihama Mandir	Karihama	Budgam	Burnt.
31	Karfali Mohalla Mandir	Habbakadal	Srinagar	Damaged
32	One temple	Areh, Kulgam	Anantnag	Burnt
33	Bata Gund Mandir	Handwara	Kupwara	Burnt
34	Chogal Mandir	Handwara	Kupwara	Burnt
35	Chak Narayan	Tangmarg	Baramulla	Burnt
36	Narayan Bag Mandir	Shadipora	Baramulla	Police control room confirms fire by throwing grenades on the temple & pathshalla.

37	Bhairavnath Mandir Nursing Garh	Karan Nagar	Srinagar	Burnt by mobs in broad day light.
38	Sri. Sanatan Dharam Sabha, Amira Kadal	Srinagar	Srinagar	As per Radio Kashmir, Srinagar, Kashmir Times, Daily Excelsior and eye- witnesses' messages, the buildings were set on fire.

**Incidentally the eyewitnesses' evidence corroborates
with the State police reports in many cases.**

INDIAN EXPRESS

DEC. 15, 1992

J-K MILITANTS DEMOLISHED 40 TEMPLES, 150 HOUSES SRINAGAR

Kashmiri militants have destroyed at least 40 temples and 150 houses during the past five days, even as pro-militant political leaders urged Muslim countries to enforce economic blockade on India for the Ayodhya incidents. Most of the incidents have been reported from rural Kashmir, especially Anantnag district in the south and Baramulla and Kupwara districts in the north. In Srinagar city, a temple and seven houses at Banamoholla and a cremation shed at Karan Nagar, migrant houses at Jawahar Nagar, Natipora and some other localities were burnt. In villages like Wadipora in Kupwara, Chinigund, Verinag, Peba, and Doru in Anantnag, Shergund in Baramulla, Kokernag and Chack-e-Narain, entire settlements of minority houses, schools, Dharamshallas and Ashrams were reduced to ashes. While official figures said nearly 14 hundred were burnt, the minority community put it around 4000.

Several precious idols of Antique value were also burnt close with the temples.

The house of eminent Kashmiri poet, Sarwanand Premi at Amnool in Kulgam was also reduced to ashes.

* * *

DAILY EXCELSIOR

Dec. 31 1992

**Report on
UMA NAGRI TEMPLE
(FROM SWAMI SYAMANANDA)**

On Dec. 8th 1992 the militants attacked and set on fire the Uma Nagri Complex. In the complex, an old Dharamshalla depicting the Kashmiri art and craft was not even spared and everything was destroyed within the temple. Besides Sh. Dhooni Sahab which was burning since 1872 day and night even during the rule of Pathans has also been set on fire. In addition to it the famous temple constructed of marble stones inside a pool of water named Shiv Shakti Kund also was not spared. It was recently constructed at a cost of more than Rs. 10 to 12 Lakhs and with the help of people but it has been razed to ground by the hand grenades by the militants.

DISTRICT POLICE OFFICE, ANANTNAG

No: DYSPDAR/ 1109

Dated : 15-2-1993

Shri Swami Syamananda,
Ashram Camp, Kashmiri Pandit Sabha,
Amphalla, Jammu Tawi.

Sir,

Kindly refer your letter No. 1507 Dated 25-1-1993, regarding demolition of Uma Temple by blasting on 8th Dec. 1992. In this regard the FIR copy of the said incident is enclosed herewith for your kind perusal. The buildings of the trust have been gutted completely due to the fire. The Uma Devi idol has been broken by the miscreants into pieces, but the structure of the Temple is intact. The iron railing is partly damaged.

Hence the report is submitted for your kind perusal.

Your sincerely,

Sd/-

(Superintendent of Police)

.. District Anantnag.

Enc:- FIR copy vide No. 40/920/S 436, 295.

DAILY EXCELSIOR

DATED:- AUG. 10 1995

97 TEMPLES DAMAGED IN MILITANT ATTACKS IN VALLEY.

New Delhi Aug.9 As many as 97 Temples were burnt or damaged in the incidents of terrorist violence in Jammu and Kashmir from 1992 till July this year and 1747 civilians lost their lives in the last 19 months, the Lok Sabha was informed today.

The Minister of State in the Prime Minister's Office Mr. Bhuvanesh Chaturvedi said in a written reply. 31 Temples were damaged only this year and added that security arrangements have been made in vulnerable areas including regular patrolling by security forces for the protection against possible attacks by militants. (PTI)

From 1990 onwards, ban was imposed by terrorist groups on the annual Shri Amar Nath Ji Yatra continuously upto 1995. For the last two years, the district administration of Anantnag has kept itself away from making Yatra arrangements. The local Ponywallas, shopkeepers, hoteliers and suppliers of tents for Yatris have also boycotted the Yatra.

For Hindus the temples have been the centres of spiritual solace and places of philosophical discourses and discussions. Their desecration, after independence, in Kashmir has ramifications... unknown till date.

EXODUS

Sec. 2

- a) **Collapse of administration.**
- b) **Statistical data.**
- c) **Extermination (Burning of Hindu properties in Kashmir).**

a) **Collapse of administration.**

In 2nd half of 1989, the Government of Jammu and Kashmir headed by Dr. Farooq Abdullah took the following three important decisions which became the immediate cause of collapse of administrative structures in Kashmir valley:-

- i) Release of seventy hard-core highly motivated terrorists who had received training in handling of weapons of destruction in Pakistan, despite the fact that the three member Advisory Committee headed by the Chief Justice had approved their detention, was the most unpatriotic act. The prevailing scenario of rise of terrorist violence in Valley, infiltration of terrorist moles into sensitive administrative set up, popular unrest and tension which was the order of day between July to December 1989 did not warrant treating hardcore dreaded terrorists in a casual manner. The result was that the released terrorists soon organized unprecedented bomb blasts, arson, killing of innocent citizens that was followed by mass uprising in the Valley.
- ii) Parliamentary elections were ordered to be held in an atmosphere surcharged with violence in the Valley during November 1989. The terrorists were confident of their success to curb people's participation in the poll. As a tantalising gesture they offered to gift a T.V. set to the person who would cast his vote at the

identified polling booths. The success of terrorists was total and complete in as much as hardly three percent of electorate only did cast votes in the Valley.

- iii) On Dec. 13 1989, the Government released unconditionally five top terrorists Hamid Sheikh, Sher Khan, Javed Ahmed Zargar, Mohd. Kalwal and Mohd Altaf Bhat to secure release of Dr. Rubaiya Sayeed D/o Mufti Mohd. Sayed, the then Union Home Minister, who had been taken hostage by the terrorists

The decision of the Government to release terrorists completely demoralised the law and order machinery of the State government. The terrorists, over-night, turned into heroes that enabled them to tighten their control over the State police force and turn it into a willing instrument for being used for furthering the cause of secession of the State from the Union of India.

The failure to ensure participation of people in the polls deprived the Government of the legal and constitutional legitimacy to govern which facilitated the virtual take over of the State administration by the gun wielding terrorists and their sympathisers.

The terrorists got under control highly sensitive organs of administration: -

- i. Police Department including various intelligence agencies became as submissive to the terrorists' designs that the constables on traffic control duty at road crossings would show 'V' sign of victory from their beat to terrorists passing by on their scooter or wagon. Even when massive anti-India processions were taken out under the leadership of gun-wielding terrorists in Srinagar, the policeman used to show 'V' sign. The intelligence sources dried up for the government. There have been three revolts during the last six years in the police force in Kashmir.
- ii. Doordarshan came directly under the control of terrorists after the assassination of its Station Director, Shri Lassa Koul by the terrorists. The

Government was obliged to shift this sensitive institution out of the valley for almost three years.

- iii. Telephone Department was also paralysed by killing Kashmiri Hindu employees of the department. Thereafter the services of this department had been used with ease for sabotaging the security operations of the Government.
- iv. The load carriers containing food supplies for the inhabitants of the Valley had been kidnapped in large numbers by terrorist groups for utilising these supplies in a manner that suited their purpose. They burnt the food-storage go-downs at far-flung and backward areas of the Valley and Doda district mostly in connivance with the local staff of the Food and Supplies Department.
- v. The Central Government offices like the Regional Passport office, Srinagar were burnt whereafter it had been shifted out of valley along with some other offices.
- vi. Many commercial banks were obliged to close their branches in rural areas and small towns and forced to open the counters of these branches in their Regional offices at Srinagar.
- vii. After the assassination of Prof. Mushir-ul-Haq, Kashmir University came directly under terrorist control. All its activities are conducted in accordance with the terrorists' directives.
- viii. The Revenue Department of the Government is fully under the grip of terrorists. The refusal of the staff of this Department to perform their duty in

connection with Sri Amar Nath Ji Yatra speaks volumes about the condition of the Department. Fraudulent mutation of the land of the displaced Hindus have been made by this Department.

- ix. The Chief Electoral Officer's organisation along with the Revenue Department staff have refused to associate with the work of updating electoral rolls.
- x. Hospitals have become the hide outs and sanctuaries for the terrorists.
- xi. Apart from failing to protect the properties of the displaced, the Government has failed to create an organisation during the last six years to look after these properties.

The Collapse of the administrative organisation has manifested in various forms as under:-

- i. Normal business activity is paralyzed by continued protest "hartals" and "bandhs".
- ii. Business of licenced cinema halls, video and beauty parlours and wine shops is banned.
- iii. Sign- Boards of business establishments have been painted green.
- iv. Wearing of "Pardha" by women is a MUST. Kashmiri women except those belonging to the families of "Pirzadas" never used purdha.
- v. Electricity fee, water tax are not paid.

- vi. Realisation of income-tax, land-revenue etc. is not made by Government agencies.
- vii. Contracts at block and district level are sanctioned as per dictates of the terrorists.
- viii. Appointments in Government offices especially those of teachers are made as per the dictates of the terrorists.
- ix. Government servants and business establishments are made to contribute funds monthly to terrorist organizations.
- x. Local press has to function as per the dictates of the terrorists.
- xi. No school or college is allowed to sing the National Anthem.
- xii. National Flag cannot be hoisted anywhere except under adequate security cover.
- xiii. Republic-Day and Independence-Day are observed as black day since 1984.
- xiv. Government schools, colleges, government buildings, private residential houses of Hindus, temples, libraries and ashrams are burnt in routine.
- xv. Kidnapping and killings of citizens is a continuous process. Average killings in violent incidents in the valley is around 100 per week now-a-days.
- xvi. Lands, orchards, houses, fruit-bearing and other trees, business establishments of the displaced Hindus have been usurped.

- xvii. Forest timber depots have been burnt. Forest wealth is looted.
- xviii. The world famous Dal Lake and other lakes of the valley are encroached upon. These lakes and water bodies are shrinking very fast day by day.
- xix. Private affairs of people such as marriage, divorce, inheritance etc. have to be settled as per dictates of the terrorists.
- xx. Illegal abortions of un-married women are rising up alarmingly.
- xxi. Resort to strikes by the Government servants for long spells on political issues is a common feature.
- xxii. Rupees 500 Crores annual income yielding tourist trade of the valley stands completely destroyed.
- xxiii. Lavish advertisements are sanctioned by the Government Departments to terrorist-secessionist controlled newspapers and magazines.
- xxiv. Terrorist groups in the valley have established parallel courts to effect their social control.

* * * * *

b) Statistical data.

Population (Religion Wise) J&K 1981 (1991-Census not conducted till date)								
Region	Hindu	Muslim	Sikhs	Budhists	Jains	Christian	Others	Total
Jammu	1802832	804637	100164	1141	1514	7778	47	2718113
Kashmir	124078	2976932	33117	189	62	466	0	3134904
Ladakh	5338	61883	334	68376	0	237	5	134372
Total	1932248	3843451	133615	69706	1576	8481	52	5987389

<p>✧ PERCENTAGE OF TOTAL MUSLIM POPULATION TO TOTAL POPULATION OF STATE 64.19243</p>	<p>✧ PERCENTAGE OF TOTAL HINDU POPULATION TO TOTAL POPULATION OF STATE 32.27196</p>
<p>✧ PERCENTAGE OF MUSLIM POPULATION OF KASHMIR DIVISION TO TOTAL POPULATION OF STATE 49.72003</p>	<p>✧ PERCENTAGE OF HINDU POPULATION OF KASHMIR DIVISION TO TOTAL POPULATION OF STATE 2.072722</p>
<p>✧ PERCENTAGE OF MUSLIM POPULATION OF KASHMIR DIVISION TO TOTAL MUSLIM POPULATION OF STATE. 77.45466</p>	<p>✧ PERCENTAGE OF HINDU POPULATION OF KASHMIR DIVISION TO TOTAL HINDU POPULATION OF STATE. 6.421432</p>
<p>✧ PERCENTAGE OF MUSLIM POPULATION OF JAMMU DIVISION TO TOTAL MUSLIM POPULATION OF STATE 13.43886</p>	<p>✧ PERCENTAGE OF MUSLIM POPULATION OF JAMMU DIVISION TO TOTAL HINDU POPULATION OF STATE 93.3023</p>
<p>✧ PERCENTAGE OF MUSLIM POPULATION OF JAMMU DIVISION TO TOTAL POPULATION OF JAMMU DIVISION 29.60277</p>	<p>✧ PERCENTAGE OF HINDU POPULATION OF JAMMU DIVISION TO TOTAL POPULATION OF DIVISION 66.3266</p>

✧ Note:- Population figures of Kashmiri Hindus shown are 124078. Same were found to be incorrect after exodus. Exodus figures show about 250000 displaced Hindus from Kashmir division (at Jammu).

DISTRICT WISE DETAILS OF DISPLACED FAMILIES REGISTERED- ENDING NOV.1990

DESCRIPTION	JAMMU	UDH.	KATHUA	RAJOURI	DODA	POONCH	TOTAL
No. of families registered	46525	6358	478	28	360	1	53750
Total strength	211785	27402	2012	94	1460	5	242758
No. of families accommodated							
i) In tents	5039	355	0	0	0	0	5394
ii) In buildings	1043	2234	138	0	9	0	3424
TOTAL	6082	2589	138	0	9	0	8818
No. of camps established	19	6	1	0	4	0	30
No. of Govt. employees (Central & State)	11771	107	135	12	118	1	12144
No. of employees belonging to Bank, Corporations etc.	888	47	0	0	0	0	935
Total (Plus 35-registered after Nov. 1990)							13,114

REGISTRATION AT DELHI

Govt. employees

840

Relief holders

4018

Note:- (The total number of displaced Kashmiri Hindus in 1989-90 is approximately 3 Lakhs besides an equal number of the members of the community who were forced to migrate earlier from 1947 to 1989 due to various reasons plus earlier displaced making a total of 7 lakh members of the community scattered throughout the country and abroad).

AN ESTIMATED DATA OF POPULATION

I)	Jammu Province	300000
ii)	Kashmir Province	20000*
iii)	Delhi	100000
iv)	Other metropolitans	100000
v)	Other states of India	100000
vi)	Abroad	10000
vii)	Pre-1947 Displaced members	70000
	Total:-	700000

*(As per figures of Prof. S.D. Soz vide-HT dated 27-04-1995)

(C) Extermination (Burning of Hindu Properties in Kashmir)

The Kashmiri Muslim terrorists have burnt, destroyed and usurped thousands of Kashmiri Hindu properties to complete the process of extermination and cleansing of the Hindu minority from the valley. Since there are a number of nodal agencies created by the Government, to register such cases, a clear picture regarding the number of the displaced burnt houses is not available. However, we have made an attempt to consolidate the list of burnt properties to the extent it would have been possible and realistic. (For details refer, to Annexure B).

Note : This Annexure "B" has not been given here as the document would become too voluminous. The original Report (On Human Rights Violations in Kashmir) submitted to the NHRC, however, carries the relevant list.

A rough estimate suggests that over 25,000 houses of the Kashmiri Pandits have been burnt (excluding properties connected to Religious and Cultural places) by the Islamic terrorists to ethnically cleanse the Valley of Kashmir.

Sec.3 Apartheid

- a) **Effects of exodus.**
- b) **Problems of students.**
- c) **Discrimination.**

a) Effects of exodus.

One facet of the multidimensional human rights violations against the Kashmiri Pandits is the health trauma -physical, mental and psychological, resulting from the forced exodus of their community.

While most of the ailments, the exiled community suffers from, are either an exacerbation and greater incidence of the existent health problems, a host of new diseases, entities and syndromes previously unknown or rare in the community have appeared for the first time. The undercurrent of terror, sense of total deprivation, loss and uprootedness have worked havoc with the psyche of the community. Working in tandem with these factors is the trauma of migration, the problems of acclimatization to an entirely different and hostile environment, over-crowding, poor housing, insanitary and unhygienic conditions, scarce medicare facilities and malnutrition.

Heat strokes

Heat trauma was almost unknown to the community in the salubrious ambience of Kashmir Valley. The first summer of exile took a heavy toll of nearly 400 precious lives. There was neither the awareness of the disease nor the implements to prevent or treat it. The lack of basic facilities like fans and coolers was a far cry in the camps where the refugees lived. Even enough water was not available to drink, not to speak of repeated baths to the body. During the second summer(1991) people had learnt the basic lessons of frequent cold baths or avoidance of direct heat of the sun, but other basic amenities to ward off the heat exhaustion and heat stroke were scarce to most with the result that another sixty people died.

Drowning

More than two dozen members of the community were lost due to drowning. The victims ventured into the fast flowing water of the canal in Jammu where they were driven to cool their bodies in the terrible heat of the summer.

Dogbites, Snake and Scorpion Bites

Many outlying areas in Jammu where the camps are located are over-run by bushes which harbour snakes and other reptiles and are rife with stray dogs some of whom are rabid. The members of the community are taken unawares during evenings or dark nights. Twenty people have lost lives, due to bites by poisonous snakes and two due to rabies(hydrophobia).

Accidents

The accident rate in the community has increased manifold because the members have to travel a lot in search of shelter and livelihood and for social contacts, since their relations have been thrown far and wide in Jammu and its neighbouring districts and in other states of India. The old and infirm have no place to move about for a stroll except the lanes which are strewn with slippery stones and causing many a fall and fractures especially of the neck and subdural hematomas (clots in the brain). Many of these victims died because of lack of treatment.

Fall from the roof tops has become another common cause of accidents. The community has lost a minimum of 200 people due to accidents.

Tropical Diseases

Malaria caused a great morbidity and suffering in the community. The community lacked immunity acquired by people living in endemic areas and the disease struck in large numbers and with great severity. Giardia and amoeba are new parasites that are taking roots in the gastrointestinal tracts of the community members causing a lot of diarrhoea and dysentery.

Infectious hepatitis, jaundice is not uncommon in the Kashmir Valley and not new to the displaced community but its incidence has grown in them because of contaminated water supply or lack of sanitation or disposal.

Pulmonary Diseases

Over-crowding has resulted in greater numbers of pneumonia and tuberculosis patients in the community. There is no doubt that tuberculosis is on the rise in the displaced people. Whereas in the rest of the country it had shown a slight decreasing trend, the incidence in exiles has jumped nearly three times.

Disease	year	Percentage affected.
Tuberculosis	1990	1.00
Tuberculosis	1991	1.20
Tuberculosis	1993	2.00
Tuberculosis	1995	3.20

Malnutrition, diminished immunity, overcrowding, poor ventilation and poor sanitary conditions help in cross infection, propagation and perpetuation of this disease. But bronchial asthma and allergic arveolitisus is rampant as hundreds of new cases report every month during the summer and autumn season. The mushroom growth of pyretheium colloquially known in Jammu as "Congress Grass" is one of the likely antigenic factors responsible for the allergic disorders to which the community is not immune.

Skin Disease

It will not be an axaggregation to state that almost 100 percent of the displaced community is suffering from the skin diseases. More than half of these are fungal infections, some times so severe and disseminated that it calls for both oral and topical antifungal treatment for a prolonged period. Scabies is rampant and almost epidemic in the tents. A

significant proportion of them develop secondary bacterial infections with the dreaded complication of acute nephritis, a kidney disease. Furunculosis, boils, abscesses, solar and allergic dermatoses etc. are also commonplace. An unknown but a dreaded disease dermatomycosis has attacked children in camps.

Infectious Diseases

Measles, mumps, chicken pox are rampant in children. Typhoid has become the scourge of the community. In 1991 summer, more than five thousand displaced Pandits contracted the infection. The most disturbing aspect of the infection is the resistance to conventional antibiotics and very costly drugs have to be administered. Lots of patients developed serious complications.

Renal Colics and Stones

The patients flock the clinics with renal colics, many of them due to crystal precipitations as a result of hot climatic condition in summer to which the community is not adapted. The incidence of renal stones and renal infections has risen precipitously.

Endocrine Diseases

Stress diabetes is a new syndrome in the community. Hundreds of new cases have been detected. The most likely cause is the stress which leads to a hyperadrenagic state and release of steroid hormones. Diabetic complications have become common as a result of poor control of the diseases. Thyrotoxicosis which is relatively uncommon in Kashmir has become manifest in large numbers possibly due to stress.

Heart disease

Angina pectoris was unmasked in a large percentage of the community, stress steep roads and difficult living conditions being some of the precipitating factors. Many sudden cardiac deaths occurred, provoked by horror stories, burning and looting of properties left behind by the people and the tragic news of death of close relatives. Hypertension, even in the young, has become common place.

Sexual and Reproductive Disorders

Because of the overcrowding and want of privacy, there is a serious erosion in the sexual functioning of the community, a reduced birth rate being a natural consequence. With a higher death rate relative to a reduced birth rate, the population of the community is fast dwindling.

i) A sample survey at a camp:-						
Period	Families interviewed.	Inmates	New Births		Deaths	
(1990-95)	300	1,365	16		49	
ii) Times of India Report:-						
July 5, 1995	350	1,200	5		200	
iii) Survey at non-camps report:-						
Period	Families interviewed.	Total Deaths	Age Group in years			
(1990-95)	2000	115	0-20	20-35	35-50	50 above
			5	25	40	45
iv) Survey at Camp & Non-Camp Area						
Period	Women interviewed.	Menopause Age in Years				
(1990-95)	100	50-55	40-45	35-40		
		57	30	13		

Kashmiri Pandit is essentially a conscious and sophisticated family planner. Marrying late by choice, only after settling down in a carrier and bringing forth children, one or at the most two, in a planned manner is his goal. Since population is a balance between the birth rate and the death rate over a period of time, the above sample survey reflects a rapidly shrinking Kashmir Hindu population and is portentous for the community.

Psychological and Mental Disorders

These have become rampant and epidemic in proportion. Depression has seized the entire community and some times so severely that it has led to many a suicide. Acute psychosis and schizophrenia have become manifest in large numbers. Anxiety states, hysterical reactions, panic disorders, phobias, amnesia afflict more than a third of the community. Insomnia is common place with frightening dreams and nightmares.

Behavioural disorders are common in children of school going age leading to a high drop out rate mostly due to terrible conditions prevalent in the camp schools where apartheid of the worst order is perpetrated against little innocent children.

Sociopathy is common and many a youth has fallen on bad ways and taken to smoking, gambling and drunkenness out of idleness and frustration.

On the whole Kashmiri Pandits in exile have aged physically and mentally by 10 to 15 years. Premature aging and premature deaths are but a fraction of the wide spectrum of the havoc that has been brought to the community.

Psychological and Behavioural Problems

The displacement of more than 300,000 Kashmiri Pandits from the valley has caused a number of psychological and behavioural problems. If these are not properly and effectively checked and dealt with, they can lead to serious mental illness. While the majority of them present transitory and situational maladjustment problems, there are a number of cases with more severe neurotic symptoms like acute anxiety, neurotic depression, hysterical reactions and so on. A few patients also presented the initial phase of psychotic reaction.

Women Suffered More

It was clear that while men were able to give vent to their grievances in social meetings etc. the women folk suffered internally and were worried about their new settlement. They felt the loss of their home and hearth more severely than probably the male counterparts and became victims of psychological symptoms more easily. While the situational maladjustment cases were given a few sessions of psychotherapy and reassurance, the severe cases of neurosis and the functional psychosis were put on drug therapy.

Feelings of Depression

Long queues of refugees waiting to be registered, being pushed in different directions, rude behavior of some officials, and feelings of loss and other related features created a feeling of guilt in their minds and they felt as if they had committed some sin or crime.

Insomnia

While anxiety, tension and other worries including feelings of depression were the main causes of loss of sleep, lack of accommodation proved another factor responsible for insomnia, as all the members of the family had forcibly to sleep in the same room/tent where individual needs, habits and behavior patterns of sleep or work had to be modified, changed and adjusted to the needs and conveniences of the other members of the family. The situation was worse if several families were sharing the same room/hall. Insomnia resulted in brooding over the past events, property left, loss suffered and other related issues leading to further feelings of anxiety and depression and aggravation of symptoms.

Loss of Appetite

A good number of patients complained of loss of appetite and did realise that it was all due to anxiety and worries and tensions and feelings of depression. However, proper understanding of their problems and few sessions of physiotherapy helped them in overcoming their basic symptoms to a large extent, which also helped in reducing the problems of reduced appetite. A number of persons reported that they have developed some physical symptoms and ailments like attacks of gastritis, palpitations of heart (tachycardia), feelings of exhaustion and skin diseases and some other psychosomatic disorders for which they had received treatment from various physicians.

State of Uncertainty

A common feature seen among the patients was a state of uncertainty, confusion and lack of any plan of action. There was a general feeling that everything was gone (almost amounting to sort of nihilistic delusion) and there was no clear cut programme for rehabilitation and resettlement, which created doubts in their minds about their survival even.

Feeling of Being Uprooted

Majority of the people felt as if they had been thrown away by a strong volcano, a storm of immense magnitude into a state of wilderness and their roots almost cut off. There was a general feeling that something was amiss, something had been snatched from their hands and their lives were empty and incomplete; an inner feeling of emptiness prevailed among almost all of the patients. Loss of home was a very strong feeling.

Self-talking and unproductive movements

A few persons were seen to be engrossed in self-talking and making strange gestures and movement of hands and fingers, at times movement of lips as if in conversation with others. Majority of the displaced people who sought consultations for their mental health problems also complained of their inability to adjust to a different environment.

b) Problems of the Students

Perhaps the worst hit section of the displaced people has been the student community. The problems of students included not only lack of the facilities but absence of the very basic needs and requirements; all these problems created a lot of mental health problems for the displaced students.

Lack of laboratory and library facilities affected the students and even the brightest among them. The students also felt disheartened on account of delay and postponement of examinations.

The status report in this regard is given here for the information and necessary action of the Commission:-

EDUCATIONAL SCENARIO

- A) Higher Secondary Level
- B) Under-graduate Level
- C) Post-graduate Level
- D) Research Scholar Level
- E) M.B.B.S
- F) B. Ed. etc.
- G) R.E.C

A) Higher Secondary education

No. of schools (camp institutions)	=	7
No. of schools in Jammu District	=	6 established in 1990
No. of schools in Udhampur District	=	1
Approx. Total No. of students	=	8000

FACILITIES

An average of six tents, 50 desks, a few chairs and tables (Now shifted to Rooms in some areas)

No libraries, No laboratories.

No recreational facilities.

No facilities to display and promote talents.

The number of students on roll is decreasing constantly day by day. The present enrolment is only 40% of what it was in 1990.

Due to lack of classrooms, hot weather and rains, the class work is disrupted. No atmosphere wherein students can interact and learn is available. Now these schools serve only as places where students go casually to complete formalities. In 1992, sixteen girl students of a camp school fell ill due to allergic rash caused by wild grass near tent classes. In other schools intense heat caused illnesses. Consequently drop-outs are on the increase with incidents of young children taking to bad habits

The results are manipulated and pass percentage decreases year by year, systematic marking policy not adopted, and no means for redressal of complaint.

B) Undergraduate Level: (B.A, B Sc, B. Com)

Total No. of Camp Colleges	=	3
No. of Colleges in Jammu	=	2 (established in 1990)
No. of Colleges in Udhampur	=	1
Approx. No. of students	=	5000

POSITION

Afternoon classes conducted in local colleges. Very inadequate libraries generally. Lack of security and extra curricular activities. No. N.C.C. or other related projects.

The following chart shows the time lost by displaced under-graduate students during the past three & half years during which the Kashmir University has been able to hold two annual examinations:

S.No	Class	Total No. students appeared	Date of admission to the course	Date of commencement of Uty. Exam.	Date of termination of Uty. Exam.	Date of declaration of results	No. of students whose results withheld	Length of time lost
1.	B.A., B.Sc B.Com Ist year	917	Academic session (90) (90 Nov/ Dec session Aug. 1990	March 1991 16.3.1991	June 1991 26.6.1991	5.10.1991	217	Appx. 9 months
2.	B.A., B.Sc B.Com IInd year	1074	--do--	16.3.1991	10.7.1991	1.9.1991	314	--do--
3.	B.A., BSc. B.Com. IIIrd Year	617	--do--	March 1991	July 1991	Oct. 1991	52%	--do--
4.	B.A., B.Sc. B.Com. Ist Year	577+ Udhampur displaced students	(12.8.1991) 1991-1992 Mar-April Sessions	12.10.1992	16.11.1992	Not Yet	-	Over one year
5.	B.A., B.Sc. B. Com, IInd Year	483+ Udhampur District students	19.10.1991 --do--	3.8.1992	2.11.1992	--do--	-	--do--
6.	B.A., B.Sc. B.Com, 3 rd Year	688+ Udhampur District students	15.9.1991 --do--	20.7.1992	10.10.1992	--do--	-	--do--

The statistics given clearly shows the negative trends that have crept in the system. Only four annual examinations have been held in last six years. No graduate was produced during the first three years. Examination dates juggled constantly with frequent post-ponements.

No practical examinations were conducted, thereby denying students valuable experience. Very unstable situation in which cancellation of examinations, has become order of the day.

Irresponsible, callous and communally-based behaviour by officials of Sub-office of Kashmir University at Jammu. Testimonials are not given in time, hundreds of disputed eligibility (DE) cases un-solved.

Latest situation

Results of Part I Declared after 9 months (as in 1994)

Total enrolled	817
Total appeared	792
Total passed	282
D.E Cases (Result with-held)	217
Failures	293
Pass percentage	17% Approx.

We can thus infer that a deliberate attempt is being made to render ignorant the displaced Kashmiri Hindus. Such a low pass percentage is unprecedented and points towards critical flaws in the system. It may thus take 6 years to graduate from Kashmir University.

C) Post Graduate level

Before displacement

No. of Batches	Exams(Appeared)	General Promotion
2	None	2

1987 to 1989 batch:- Students in fourth semester granted general promotion.
No testimonials issued.

1989 Batch:- Aug. Batch still languishing in 4th year.

Students before Displacement.	Students registered for studies in Jammu.	At present.
175	85	33

Year of admission	1989
Ist semester exams.	G.P
IInd semester exams	27 th May-4 th July. 1991
Practical Exams.	Jan.1992
3 rd Semester Exams	April-May, 1992
4 th Semester Exams	April-May, 1993

Twice the normal time(2years) taken, no end in sight. Poor standard of studies. Lack of teachers, teaching aids and library facilities.

Dropouts to the extent of 50% at the start of P.G. classes and later on another 60% discontinued studies. No admission to next P.G. classes in 1990-91. Next batch started in 1992.

Batch description	=	May 1992
Total No. of students admitted in various P.G. courses	=	118
Dropouts	=	4
On Rolls	=	114
Date of admission	=	May, 1992
Date of exams.	=	Not decided yet.

Remarks:

No admission in Bio-chemistry, MBA, Electronics, Mass Communication, Home Science, Sociology, Statistics and Sanskrit.

M.Ed students

Total No. admitted	=	6
Date of commencement of exams	=	April, 1991.
Date of declaration of results	=	Not decided yet.

Fine Arts students

Total No. admitted	=	4(All female)
Date of commencement of exams.	=	August, 1991
Date of declaration of results.	=	Not decided yet.

D) Research Scholars (M.Phil. and Ph. D)

No. of scholars

Registered with Kashmir University before displacement	In initial stages of research	In final stage (who submitted thesis in Kashmir)	Who had to submit their thesis
30	15	5	10
Leftouts after Displacement	Who are still in the struggle		who have fulfilled all the requirements but are waiting
15	15		4

Remarks

No Doctorate Degrees have been awarded and thereby research has suffered. Lowering of academic standards. Talent is getting wasted. Although students are willing to go for research programme but are discouraged by the authorities at all levels.

(E) M.B.B.S Students

Batch	No. of students in the batch	Course	Duration of Course as Stipulated by K.U.	Due Date of exams	Exam. Held on		Time lost
					Theory	Practical	
1985	12	1)Prefinal MBBS	12 Months	March 1990	March 1990	August 1990	9 months
		2)Final MBBS	6 Months	June 1991	June 1991	Dec. 1991	6 months
1986	10	1)IInd Prof.	18 Months	Feb. 1990	Aug. 1990	Dec. 1990	10 months
		2)Final MBBS	6 Months	July 1991	Aug. 1992	Aug. 1992	13 months
1987	3	1)IInd Prof.	18 months	Mar. 1991	July 1992	Still to be held	16 months
1988	28	1) Ist Prof.	18 Months	May 1990	Dec. 1990	Dec. 1990	7 months
						(All subsequently migrated)	
1989	21	1) Ist Prof.	18 Months	June 1992	Nov. 1992	Feb. 1993	7 months
1991	9	MD/MS	2 Years			a) Not allotted to any college	
1993	13	MD/MS	2 years			b) Pay withheld	

(F) B.Ed Students

Total No. of students : Those who had joined B.Ed. in Kashmir in 1988-89 have still not appeared for their half term exams. Very large(65%) of dropouts who have returned to their native places have forsaken a lot. New admissions are very less.

G) R.E.C Students : R.E.C students allowed to migrate to other institutions, Camp R.E.C functional with low level facilities.

Important:- The demand for an autonomous educational structure for the displaced students is the only via-media to fulfill the aspirations of the community in this connection and to maintain the community's academic standards.

C) Discrimination

Some other major sections who suffered very heavily are Traders, Orchardists and Agriculturalists. Some statistics regarding these sections is also given (See Annuxre-C).

There are glaring examples of apartheid to which the community has been subjected to for the last six years.

Besides large scale discrimination in the field of education, there are a variety and a number of such instances in every field of life. We give here three symbolic examples for an assessment of the bias and discrimination that the Kashmiri Pandit Community has been undergoing in its own country and State despite existence of a colossal secular and democratic India.

- i) The situation in which Kashmiri Pandits have been forced to live has given rise to unprecedented unemployment problem. The Community has one educated unemployed youth in every alternate family. There are thousands of Matriculates, hundreds of Graduates and Post-Graduates and scores of scholars besides trained professionals in the Community who are forced to embrace disgusting labour. On the other hand, various special recruitment drives for recruitment of Kashmiri Muslims were organised by the Central and State Governments. The total recruitment of Kashmiri Hindus in the Government Departments in the State does not exceed one hundred for the last six years. Same is the story of public sector undertakings and banks as well. A survey done in this regard is as follows regarding the two leading banks in the State (Period=1990-1995):-

Name of the Bank	No. of Kashmiri Hindus Recruited	No. of Kashmiri Muslims Recruited
State Bank of India	7	402
J&K Bank	35	713

- ii) The J&K State Government has issued several promotional orders in respect of its officials in various departments of the State for the last six years. In case of such promotions to the Kashmiri Hindu displaced employees, orders are issued to effect such promotions on the condition that the concerned employee joins his new posting. Since the displaced employees are not able to join their posting in the valley of Kashmir, they are deprived of their genuine promotions and the chance is usurped by the community of Kashmiri Muslims. Govt. order No.362 GAD of 1992 dated 29-04-92 is an evidence in this respect (Annexure-D).
- iii) Consequent upon the destruction of properties in the valley due to occurrence of fire, the Govt.has paid ex-gratia relief to the affected people. In order to arrive at the assessed loss to the property and the ex-gratia to be sanctioned, different yard-sticks have been/are applied by the administration in case of loss to the properties of Kashmiri Hindus and Kashmiri Muslims. One such example to quote is :-

Order No.	Kashmiri Muslims		Kashmiri Hindus	
	Loss Assessed (Rs.)	Ex-gratia Relief (Rs.)	Loss Assessed (Rs.)	Ex-gratia Relief (Rs.)
Govt.Order No. DCM/Relief/CHAR/09 31-07-1995	52,603	2,43, 463 + Plot	-	-
	55,746	1,81, 729 +Plot	-	-
	1,18,271	2,58,620 + Plot	-	-
Govt. Order No. OCK-R/MG-4 30-08-1995			4,00,000	1,00,000
			2,95,000	1,00,000
			1,70,000	85,000
Note (For details refer Annexure- E)				

There are other hundreds and thousands of examples to exhibit and prove the state of apartheid inflicted upon the community by the powers that be. For details, we shall have to have a close and clean look into the Govt. orders, circulars, notifications, precedence and practice of the state/central administration in the J&K State for the last 6 years.

ANNEXURE-"A"

**LIST OF MARTYRS
WHO LAID THEIR LIVES
IN
K A S H M I R**

S.No	Name S/Shri.	Address	Profession	Assisnation Date
1.	A.Kumar Ganjoo	Sathu Barbershah	N.A (Not available)	03-04-1987
2.	Pawan Kumar	Zaindar Mohalla	Shopkeeper	N.A
3.	Swami K.Nath	Vicharnag Srinagar	Pujari	09-12-1988
4.	Tika Lal Taploo	Chinkral Mohalla Srinagar	Advocate	13-09-1989
5.	Nila Kanth Ganjoo	Karan Nagar Srinagar	Ex-Session Judge	04-11-1989
6.	R.P.N. Singh	Anantnag	Central Govt. Employee	N.A
7.	Smt. Sheela Tickoo	Srinagar	House wife	01-11-1989
8.	Prem Nath Bhat	Anantnag	Advocate	27-12-1989
9.	Krishan Gopal Chohan	Berwa Budgam	Central Govt. Employee	01-02-1990
10.	Ramesh Kumar Thusoo	Trehgam Kupwara	Govt. servant	01-02-1990
11.	M.L. Bhan	Khonomoh Sgr.	-do-	15-01-1990
12.	Ajay Kapoor	Mahrajung, Sgr.	Wholesale Cloth Dealer	10-12-1990
13.	S.K. Tikoo	Karfali Mohalla Srinagar	Govt. Servant	02-02-1990
14.	Tej Krishan Razdan	Habbakadal-Sgr.	-do-	12-02-1990
15.	Naveen Saproo	Habbakadal Srinagar	Govt. Service	27-02-1990

16.	Lassa Koul	Bimna Srinagar	D.D. Srinagar	13-02-1990
17.	P.L. Fotedar	Bijebhara, Antg.	Govt. servant	28-02-1990
18.	P.N. Handoo	Balgarden Srinagar	Inf. Officer	01-03-1990
19.	Anil Bhan	Kanikadal Srinagar	Govt. servant	17-02-1990
20.	Moti Singh	Kuthua	-do-	27-02-1990
21.	Kashi Nath	Kathi Darwaaza Sgr.	Retd. Employee	06-03-1990
22.	Tara Chand Ambardar	Zaindar Mohalla Srinagar	-do-	23-03-1990
23.	T.K. Razadan	Yachgam Budgam	Govt. Servant	- 03-1990
24.	Soom Nath Tickoo	Ganderbal Srinagar	-do-	-03-1990
25.	Sh. Paul	Amira Kadal Srinagar	-do-	-03-1990
26.	Rattan Lal	Lolab Kupwara	-do-	-03-1990
27.	B.K. Gangoo	Chotta Bazar Srinagar	Tel.com. Enggr.	23-03-1990
28.	Smt. Devi (Found Hanging)	Allachi Bagh Srinagar	N.A.	-03-1990
29.	A.K. Raina	Srinagar	Govt. Servant	19-03-1990
30.	Joginder Singh	N.A	N.A	03-03-1990
31.	Dinesh Lal	Karan Nagar Srinagar	Shopkeeper	19-03-1990
32.	Ramesh Sahni	Zaindar Mohalla Srinagar	Business	27-03-1990
33.	Punit Sahni	Zaindar Mohalla Srinagar	-do-	27-03-1990
34.	P.N. Koul	Bijebhara, Antg.	Agri-Deptt	22-03-1990
35.	A.K. Bazaz	Safa Kadal, Srinagar	Service	26-03-1990
36.	Jaggar Nath	Yer Khushipora Anantnag	Govt. Servant	03-03-1990
37.	Amrik Singh	Amira Kadal, Srinagar	Business	00-03-1990
38.	B.L. Misri	Peer Bagh Srinagar	-do-	23-03-1990

39.	Ramesh K. Peer	Vichar Nagh Srinagar	Service	06-04-1990
40.	Ashok Kumar	Wadipora Srinagar	-do-	26-03-1990
41.	Radha Krishen	Karan Nagar Srinagar	Business	05-04-1990
42.	H.L. Khera	Chandigarh/ Srinagar	Gen. Manager (H.M.T)	10-04-1990
43.	A.K. Qazi	Tankipora Srinagar	Handicraft Deptt.	24-02-1990
44.	Joginder Malhotra	Safakadal Srinagar	Business	22-04-1990
45.	Om. Prakesh	Shopian Pulwama	Govt. servant	19-03-1990
46.	K.K. Koul	Srinagar	Business	05-04-1990
47.	Bansi Lal	Chattergul Anantnag	Business	28-04-1990
48.	Dwarika Nath	Anantnag	Service	30-04-1990
49.	Narendar Nath	Rainawari Srinagar	-do-	24-04-1990
50.	Bharat Bushan Koul	Pampore Srinagar	-do-	28-04-1990
51.	Daleep Kumar	Killed at Nowhatta Srinagar	-do-	30-04-1990
52.	Brij Lal Shah	Sadhu Ganga Kupwara	Service	27-04-1990
53.	Prem Nath Koul	Kuil Pulwama	N.A	05-04-1990
54.	Dalceep Singh	Shopian Pulwama	Service	30-04-1990
55.	Smt.Sarla Bhat	Qazi Mohalla Anantnag	-do-	25-04-1990
56.	Makhan Lal	Kanikadal Srinagar	-do-	21-04-1990
57.	Sunil Kotru	Rainawari Srinagar	-do-	22-04-1990
58.	Niranjan Nath	Akingam Anantnag	Business	24-04-1990
59.	Kashi Ram	Budgam	Service	25-04-1990
60.	Sarup Sampath	Zakura Budgam	-do-	25-04-1990
61.	Surender Khar	Mattan Anantnag	-do-	25-04-1990
62.	Bansi Lal Saproo	Gulab Bagh Srinagar	-do-	25-04-1990

63.	Dr. Raj Nath	New Khanda Srinagar	-do-	26-04-1990
64.	Unidentified body of K.P. in village	Khrew Pulwama	-do-	26-04-1990
65.	Bushen Lal	Budgam	-do-	26-04-1990
66.	M.L. Pandita	Agri Kupwara	-do-	30-04-1990
67.	Heera Lal Khar Wangoo (brutally killed)	Kak Mohalla Srinagar	Govt. Service	30-04-1990
68.	Makhan Lal Wangoo	Srinagar	-do-	30-04-1990
69.	Unidentified body of Kashmiri Hindu	Kupwara	-do-	01-05-1990
70.	Sarwanand Koul(Premi)	Soaf Anantnag	Poet	01-05-1990
71.	Virender Kumar	Soaf Anantnag	Service	01-05-1990
72.	Makhan Lal Thaploo	Anantnag	Business	02-05-1990
73.	Autar Krishan	Badgam	N.A	02-05-1990
74.	Chuni Lal Shalla	Kupwara	-do-	02-05-1990
75.	Vinod Kumar	Nawhatta	Service	06-05-1990
76.	Virender Kumar Chatta	Baramulla	Service	03-05-1990
77.	Surinder Dhar	HabbaKadal Srinagar	Service	05-05-1990
78.	Prof. Kundan Lal Ganjoo	Sopore	Service	07-05-1990
79.	Smt. Prana Ganjoo (Kidnapped/Raped & killed)	Sopore	Service	07-05-1990
80.	Dolly	Karan Nagar Srinagar	N.A	07-05-1990
81.	Prediman Krishen Bhat	Lolab Sogam	N.A	28-04-1990

82.	Dev Kant Roy	Srinagar	Pvt. Employee	08-05-1990
83.	Bihari Labroo	Anantnag	NA	09-05-1990
84.	Inderjeet	Chadura Badgam	Cloth Merchant	10-05-1990
85.	Gulshan Lal	Pulwama	NA	10-05-1990
86.	Moti Lal	---	NA	10-05-1990
87.	Rattan Lal	V. Khaler	NA	10-05-1990
88.	Unidentified body of Hindu	Pulwama	NA	10-05-1990
89.	Unidentified boy of a Hindu in Jhelum river	---	NA	10-05-1990
90.	Shrinder Kumar	Tulmulla Srinagar	Service	10-05-1990
91.	Mohan Lal	Anantnag	Service	13-05-1990
92.	Autar Krishan	Badgam	-do-	13-05-1990
93.	Chaman Lal	Badgam	-do-	13-05-1990
94.	Daya Krishan Duloo	Srinagar	-do-	12-05-1990
95.	Veerji	Badgam	-do-	13-05-1990
96.	Bushen Lal	Srinagar	-do-	13-05-1990
97.	Unidentified Body of Hindu	Srinagar	-do-	13-05-1990
98.	S. Gudoo Singh	Srinagar	Business	15-05-1990
99.	A.K. Wazir	Srinagar	Service	15-05-1990
100.	Saroop Nath	Beru Badgam	-do-	03-05-1990
101.	Vinod Kumar	Natipora Srinagar	-do-	-do-
102.	Daya Krishan	Sathoo Srinagar	-do-	-do-
103.	M.L. Pandita	Tikri Kupwara	-do-	27-04-1990
104.	Amar Nath Bagati	Srinagar	NA	11-05-1990
105.	Autar Krishan	Badgam	Service	14-05-1990
106.	Sham Lal Sharma	Vanpohi Anantnag	-do-	17-05-1990

107.	Bal Raj Suri	Srinagar	Shopkeeper	17-05-1990
108.	Bushan Lal	Anantnag	Service	17-05-1990
109.	Suresh Kumar Kisoo	Purshiyar Srinagar	-do-	17-05-1990
110.	Chuni Lal	Habakadal Srinagar	Business	17-05-1990
111.	Bullet ridden body of Hindu found	Old Airport- Sgr.	NA	18-05-1990
112.	Man Mohan Sharma	Baramulla	-do-	18-05-1990
113.	Pran Nath Bhat	Anantnag	-do-	21-05-1990
114.	Daleep Ji	-do-	-do-	21-05-1990
115.	Kular Sharma	-do-	-do-	16-05-1990
116.	Prithvi Nath Hakim	Nowgam Srinagar	Business	21-05-1990
117.	M.L. Raina	Anantnag	Service	20-05-1990
118.	Moti Lal Raina	Rainawari Srinagar	-do-	20-05-1990
119.	One Kashmiri Hindu (roasted alive)	Srinagar	-do-	24-05-1990
120.	One Kashmiri Hindu	Badgam	Chowkidar (Telecom.Deptt)	24-05-1990
121.	Shamboo Nath	Anantnag	-do-	22-05-1990
122.	Unidentified body of Hindu	Kawdara Srinagar	-do-	26-05-1990
123.	Niranjan Nath	Anantnag	-do-	26-05-1990
124.	Kaka Singh	Jammu	-do-	13-05-1990
125.	Harbans Singh	Jammu	-do-	28-05-1990
126.	Unidentified body of KP	Srinagar	-do-	28-05-1990
127.	Unidentified body of KP	Srinagar	-do-	28-05-1990
128.	Unidentified body of KP	Srinagar	-do-	28-05-1990
129.	Ramesh Kumar Raina	-do-	-do-	28-05-1990
130.	One Hindu unidentified	-do-	-do-	28-05-1990

131.	One Hindu body unidentified	Nawakadal Sgr.	Service	29-05-1990
132.	Chaman Lal Tickoo	Ganderbal Srinagar	Service	31-05-1990
133.	Krishen Lal Wagroo	Badgam	Service	31-05-1990
134.	Jawahar Lal Wanchoo	Rainawari Srinagar	Service	30-05-1990
135.	Hindu Women kidnapped and killed	Srinagar	Govt. Employee	30-05-1990
136.	Ramesh Kumar of Jammu	Anantnag	Service	01-06-1990
137.	Hindu Police constable (kidnapped and killed)	-do-	-do-	03-06-1990
138.	Shiban Krishen Kallu	Bagi Mahtab, Sgr.	Govt. Service	03-06-1990
139.	Badri Nath	Gosanigund Anantnag	Govt. Servant	02-06-1990
140.	Damodar Raina (kidnapped and killed)	Kulgam Anantnag	Retd. Employee	02-06-1990
141.	Ishwar Dass of Jammu	Khanabal Anantnag	JKAP	11-06-1990
142.	Bhadur Singh of Jammu	-do-	-do-	11-06-1990
143.	Triloki Nath (dead body found near Mahraj Gung)	Srinagar	Petition Writer	12-06-1990
144.	Kanya Lal (Hanged)	Badgam	Service	12-06-1990
145.	Unidentified body of Hindu found in Baramulla	N.A	N.A.	12-06-1990

146.	One Hindu body fished out in Jehlum.	Srinagar	-do-	12-06-1990
147.	One Hindu body fished out in Jehlum	-do-	-do-	12-06-1990
148.	One Hindu body fished out in Jehlum	-do-	-do-	12-06-1990
149.	One Hindu body fished out in Jehlum	-do-	-do-	12-06-1990
150.	One Hindu body fished out in Jehlum	-do-	-do-	12-06-1990
151.	Chaman Lal	Kawoosa	Teacher	NA
152.	AK Safaya	Habakadal Srinagar	Mgr. JK Bank	15-06-1990
153.	Dayaram Koul	Srinagar	-do-	15-06-1990
154.	Ashok Kumar (Dead body found)	Sopore	Service	15-06-1990
155.	P.N. Handoo	Srinagar	Govt. Servant	01-04-1990
156.	One body of Hindu found in Kulgam	Anantnag	-do-	15-06-1990
157.	One body of Hindu found in Kulgam.	Anantnag	-do-	15-06-1990
158.	One body of Hindu found in Kulgam.	Anantnag	-do-	15-06-1990
159.	Jawahar Lal Ganjoo	Bana Mohalla Srinagar	Service	18-06-1990
160.	Smt. Durga Kaul	-do-	H.H.Lady	18-06-1990
161.	Badri Koul	-do-	Service	18-06-1990
162.	Smt. Prana Ganjoo	-do-	Housewife	18-06-1990
163.	Rajinder Kumar Tickoo	Shopian Pulwama	Shopkeeper	-do-

164.	One Hindu strangled	Badgam	N.A.	-	-do-
165.	One Hindu strangled	Kupwara	N.A.		-do-
166.	Maharaj Krishan	Kupwara	Service		30-06-1990
167.	Jagar Nath	Bemina, Srinagar	-do-		31-05-1990
168.	Avtar Krishan	Bagi Mehtab, Sgr.	-do-		31-05-1990
169.	Shiban Krishan Koul	Baramulla	Business		04-06-1990
170.	Aftab Ram	Rainawari Srinagar	Retd. Employee		04-06-1990
171.	Gokal Nath	Bagi Mehtab, Sgr.	-do-		04-06-1990
172.	Raj Kumar Jailkhani	Zero Bridge, Sgr.	-do-		07-06-1990
173.	Sham Lal	Lal Mandi Srinagar	Shopkeeper		07-06-1990
174.	Rajesh Kumar	Rehari Colony Jammu.	Service		08-06-1990
175.	Ajaib Singh	Poonch	Service		08-06-1990
176.	Triloki Nath	Bandipora	-do-		11-06-1990
177.	Pushker Nath	Danwachi	-do-		11-06-1990
178.	Omkar Nath Raina	Devi Angan, Sgr.	Service		11-06-1990
179.	Inder Kumar	Natipora Srinagar	-do-		11-06-1990
180.	Kanya Lal	Mahraj Gunj, Sgr.	Service		11-06-1990
181.	One unidentified Hindu (hanged)	Pulwama			11-06-1990
182.	Radha Krishan	Turoo, Anantnag	Patwari		06-06-1990
183.	Ramesh Kumar Raina	-do-	Service		07-06-1990
184.	Rugh Nath	Pulwama	Service		14-06-1990
185.	Saroop Nath	-do-	Service		16-06-1990
186.	Desh Raj	Hari Singh High Street, Srinagar	N.A.		16-06-1990
187.	Gopi Chand	Kupwara	N.A.		17-06-1990

188.	Unidentified body of a Hindu	Nowgam, Sgr.	N.A.	22-06-1990
189.	Bal Krishan Tatoo	Habba Kadal, Sgr.	N.A.	22-06-1990
190.	One unidentified body of Hindu (found strangulated to death)	Shopian	N.A.	22-06-1990
191.	Bal Krishan.	Srinagar	N.A.	22-06-1990
192.	One unidentified body of Hindu (found in river Jehlum)	Srinagar	N.A.	22-06-1990
193.	One bullet ridden body of Hindu found in Mansabal	Srinagar	N.A.	22-06-1990
194.	Ashwani Kumar	Srinagar	N.A.	23-06-1990
195.	Ashok Kumar	Khanka Sukhta Srinagar	-do-	23-06-1990
196.	T.N. Raina	Srinagar	Jt. Director Sericulture	26-06-1990
197.	Satish Kumar	Ganderbal Srinagar	Service	26-06-1990
198.	Brij Lal Raina	Dambi Dola	Rev. Service	26-06-1990
199.	One Hindu couple (brutally killed in Check Hanjan, Anantnag after tying to Running Vehicle)	N.A.	N.A.	26-06-90
200.	Jia Lal Kaw (kidnapped and killed)	Handwara	-do-	18-05-1990
201.	Minor Son of Jia Lal Kaw	Handwara	-do-	18-05-1990

202.	Shiban Lal Koul	Bongam (Tangmarg)	Service	11-07-1990
203.	Unidentified Hindu found killed	Budgam	N.A.	11-07-1990
204.	Yogesh Kumar	Rambagh	-do-	26-06-1990
205.	Babli	Drusu Pulwama	Student	01-07-1990
206.	Roopawati (Mother of Babli S.No. 205. above)	-do-	House Wife	01-07-1990
207.	Smt. Teja Dhar	Ali Kadal, Srinagar.	House wife	01-07-1990
208.	Raj Nath Dhar	-do-	Service	01-07-1990
209.	Ms. Girja Dhar	-do-	N.A.	01-07-1990
210.	Dina Nath	-do-	N.A.	01-07-1990
211.	Badri Nath Wattal	Rainawari Srinagar.	Service	26-06-1990
212.	Chaman Lal Koul (Kidnapped & killed)	-do-	N.A.	24-06-1990
213.	Rattan Lal Hali	-do-	N.A.	-do-
214.	Soom Nath	Chattabal, Sgr.	-do-	24-06-1990
215.	Ram Chand	Behama, Ganderbal	-do-	26-06-1990
216.	Inder Kumar	Watipora	-do-	11-07-1990

217.	Saṁsar Chand	Baramulla	-do-	-do-
218.	Shamboo Nath	N.A.	-do-	30-06-1990
219.	Prof. N.K. Koul	Khanka Sokhta Srinagar	-do-	30-07-1990
220.	Shridar Joo	-do-	-do-	-do-
221.	Triloki Nath	Baramulla	-do-	01-07-1990
222.	Predhman Krishan	Kokernag Anantnag	N.A.	02-07-1990
223.	Smt. Arandatti	Batyar, Srinagar	-do-	02-07-1990
224.	Mohan Lal	Harwan Srinagar	-do-	03-07-1990
225.	Arjan Nath	Shopian	-do-	03-07-1990
226.	Makhan Lal	Srinagar	-do-	03-07-1990
227.	Suraj Prakash	Srinagar	-do-	03-07-1990
228.	Dharam Dass	-do-	-do-	03-07-1990
229.	Hari Krishan	Uri	-do-	06-07-1990
230.	Jawhar Lal	Harwan Srinagar	-do-	06-07-1990
231.	Satish Kumar	Baramulla	-do-	06-07-1990

232.	Dina Nath Muju	Rawalpora Srinagar	-do-	07-07-1990
233.	Gopi nath Kangan	Ganderbal	-do-	08-07-1990
234.	Autar Krishan Hawal	Srinagar	-do-	08-07-1990
235.	Suraj Prakash	Rainawari Srinagar	-do-	09-07-1990
236.	Gauri Shanker	Baramulla	-do-	09-07-1990
237.	Shiban Koul	Tangmarg	Govt. Service	09-07-1990
238.	P.K. Kotru	Srinagar	State employee	09-07-1990
239.	Inder Krishen	Mehjoor Nagar Srinagar	N.A.	10-07-1990
240.	Kuldeep Chand	Natipora, Srinagar	-do-	10-07-1990
241.	Nana Ji	Batmaloo, Srinagar	-do-	11-07-1990
242.	Nanak Chand	-do-	-do-	-do-
243.	Shankernath	Shopian	Business	11-07-1990
244.	Raghunath	Tral, Pulwama	Service	12-07-1990
245.	Kameshwar Lal	Anantnag	-do-	12-07-1990
246.	Sultan Singh	Khoja Bagh Srinagar	-do-	14-07-1990

247.	Jiwan Lal	Rainawari Srinagar	-do-	15-07-1990
248.	Radha Krishen Koul	Ashmji, Anantnag	-do-	16-07-1990
249.	Shiban Lal Koul	-do-	-do-	16-07-1990
250.	Inder Kumar	Natipora Srinagar	-do-	11-07-1990
251.	Anand Narayan	Anantnag	-do-	17-07-1990
252.	Mrs. Sahini	-do-	Lady Doctor	18-07-1990
253.	Durlabh Singh	Qazigund, Antg.	Driver	18-07-1990
254.	Chand Ram Kher	Damjan Anantnag	Service	18-07-1990
255.	Hansraj Suri	Naidyar Srinagar	N.A.	20-07-1990
256.	S.S. Abrol	Kokernag, Antg.	Service	20-07-1990
257.	Roop Raj	Badgam	-do-	22-07-1990
258.	Janki Nath	Sumbal	-do-	26-07-1990
259.	Nath Ji	Anantnag	-do-	26-07-1990
260.	Ved Lal	Sopore	Principal	26-07-1990
261.	Unidentified body of a Hindu	-do-	N.A.	01-08-1990

262.	A bullet riddled body of Hindu at Baramulla.	Baramulla	N.A.	29-07-1990
263.	Bharat Bhushan	Jammu	N.A.	29-07-1990
264.	Dead body of Hindu found.	Khanabal Anantnag.	-do-	-do-
265.	Mahesh Kumar	-do-	-do-	30-07-1990
266.	Dead body of Hindu found.	Kupwara	-do-	29-07-1990
267.	Autar Singh	-do-	-do-	29-07-1990
268.	Adarsh Jee	Baramulla	-do-	29-07-1990
269.	Gauri Shanker	Anantnag.	N.A.	29-07-1990
270.	Bharat Singh	Jammu	-do-	29-07-1990
271.	Omkar Nath Matoo	Dragbal Pampore.	do-	30-07-1990
272.	Sundri Lal	Kangan, Ganderbal	-do-	30-07-1990
273.	N.G. Sadhu	Manzgam Srinagar	-do-	31-07-1990
274.	Virander Kumar Suri.	Mandirbagh Srinagar.	-do-	-do-
275.	Jai Krishan Bhan	Dribyar Srinagar.	-do-	02-08-1990
276.	Jawahar Lal	Tral Pulwama	-do-	03-08-1990

277.	Gian Chand	Kishtwar	Govt. Servant	04-08-1990
278.	R.K. Handoo	Rainawari Srinagar.	MES	09-08-1990
279.	D.N. Chowdhary	Indra Nagar, Sgr.	Manager Cement Factory	11-08-1990
280.	Arjan Nath	Shalipora, Budgam	N.A.	09-08-1990
281.	Manoj Kumar	Kupwara	-do-	10-08-1990
282.	Saroop Naranyan	Pattan Baramulla	-do-	10-08-1990
283.	Tarlok Chand	Achabal Anantnag.	N.A.	11-08-1990
284.	Vasudev Pandit	Rohama Anantnag	-do-	11-08-1990
285.	Roshan Lal Chowdary	Rainawari Srinagar	-do-	11-08-1990
286.	Darshan Koul	Kokernag, Antg.	-do-	15-08-1990
287.	Masher Nath	Lolab Kupwara	-do-	16-08-1990
288.	Madan Mohan	Sopore.	-do-	17-08-1990
289.	Smt. Baljeet Kour	N.A.	-do-	17-08-1990
290.	Rattan Lal Raina	N.A.	J&K Bank	18-08-1990
291.	Shanker Nath Tiku	Wadwan Badgam	N.A.	21-08-1990

292.	Chand Ram	Badgam	-do-	21-08-1990
293.	R.K. Koul	Nai Sarak Srinagar	TEO	24-08-1990
294.	B.L. Kak	Natipora Srinagar	N.A.	26-08-1990
295.	Gopal Ram	Kokernag, Antg.	-do-	28-08-1990
296.	Bansi Lal	Srinagar	-do-	29-08-1990
297.	Hari Singh	Anantnag	Govt. Service	30-08-1990
298.	Mahesh Chander	Anantnag	N.A.	30-08-1990
299.	Omkar Nath	Baramulla	-do-	30-08-1990
300.	Shadi Lal Bhat (body found in Lidder Nalla of Anantnag)	Anantnag	-do-	07-09-1990
301.	Makhan Lal	Srinagar	-do-	08-09-1990
302.	Preduman Krishen	Anantnag	-do-	09-09-1990
303.	Hardey Nath	Wuyan Pulwama	-do-	09-09-1990
304.	Gauri Shanker	Ganderbal	-do-	10-09-1990
305.	Trikha Ji	Ganderbal	-do	11-09-1990
306.	Triloki Nath	Anantnag	-do-	11-09-1990

307.	Sham Singh	Batmaloo, Sgr.	-do-	12-09-1990
308.	Narender Singh	-do-	-do-	12-09-1990
309.	Ramesh Kumar	Khrew Pulwama	-do-	12-09-1990
310.	B.L. Kak	N.A.	Asstt. Exec Engr.	-do-
311.	Dr. Shuban Ji Khurdi	Rabab Sahib, Sgr.	Service	14-10-1990
312.	Smt. Usha Ji	Srinagar	-do-	14-10-1990
313.	Smt. Neeta Jee	Srinagar	-do-	14-10-1990
314.	Prem Nath (killed at Dangar Anantnag)	Anantnag	N.A.	17-10-1990
315.	Dwarika Nath	Moripora, Antg.	N.A.	13-09-1990
316.	Autar Krishen Raina	Chowalgam, Kulgam Anantnag.	-do-	14-09-1990
317.	Rattan Lal Pandita	Srinagar	-do-	16-09-1990
318.	Suresh Gupta	Maisuma Srinagar	-do-	17-09-1990
319.	Mubash Singh	Padgampora Anantnag	-do-	19-09-1990

The List is consolidated upto Sep.-Oct. 1990*

*The list of the Pandits killed in organized massacres by the Islamic terrorists, after the event of 1989-90 exodus, is given at the end of this section on Human Rights Concerns.

Annexure ----“C”

**Statistics Regarding Traders (Hindu) in Kashmir
(As on 1.4.1990)**

S. No.	Distt.	Number
1.	Kupwara	300
2.	Badgam	300
3.	Pulwama	250
4.	Anantnag	925
5.	Baramulla	625
6.	Srinagar	2,600
Total		5,000

Contractors (Hindu)**200**

(The lists of Traders shall be forwarded in due course of time.)*

* This list was annexed to the Report submitted on 16th January, 1996.

ANNEXURE - "D"
GOVERNMENT OF JAMMU AND KASHMIR
GENERAL ADMINISTRATION DEPARTMENT

Subject: Promotion of employees who have migrated from Valley-
Policy decision for.

Government order No: 362-GAD of 1992

Dated: 29-4-1992

The matter of promotion of such of the Government employees who have migrated from Kashmir Division has been examined under the relevant rules and it is hereby ordered that:

- b) The employees who have migrated from the Valley in the wake of the present situation and are getting leave salary, shall be considered for promotion by the respective D.P.Cs on the basis of their merit and seniority under the rules if they are eligible for promotion and the posts are available and are to be filled up. The requirement of APRs for the period of migration shall be dispensed with in their cases. The APRs prior to migration would, however, be duly considered.
- c) Such of the migrant employees who are cleared by the D.P.C. for such promotion shall be entitled to the benefit of promotion only after joining their new places of posting against the posts on which they have been promoted.

By order of the Government of Jammu and Kashmir.

Sd/-

(AJIT KUMAR)
Commr/Secretary to Government
General Administration Deptt.

**Commissioner/Secretary to Government,
General Administration Department,**

No: GAD (Adm.) 16/92-IV

Dated:29-4-1992.

Subject: Adjustment of Subject Matter Specialists (SDL) and Sub-Divisional Agriculture Officers against District Level Posts.

Government Order No. 115/ Agri. Of 1994 dated: 18.2.1994

•Pending clearance by the Department Promotion Committee/ Public Service Commission and without prejudice to the seniority of others, if any sanction is accorded to the adjustment of the following officers against available District Level Posts falling in Category-1 of Class-V of the J&K Agriculture (Gazetted) Services Recruitment Rules, 1980 in their own pay and grade with change allowance as admissible under Art. 86(b) of J&K CSR:-

S/ Shri

1. Balbir Singh, Subject Matter Specialist (SDL).
2. Abdul Samad Bhat, Sub-Divisional Agriculture Officer.
3. C.R. Salmooch (SC), Subject matter Specialist (SDL).
4. Abdul Majid Naiku, Sub-Divisional Agriculture Officer.
5. Mohan Lal Koul, Subject Matter Specialist (SDL) (Migrant).
6. Mohan Chander Tickoo, Sub-Divisional Agriculture Officer (Migrant).
of present SDAO, Kargil.
7. Hari Krishan Handoo, Subject Matter Specialist (SDL) (Migrant).
8. Ram Krishan Koul, Sub-Divisional Agriculture Officer (Migrant).
9. Suresh Chander Sharma, Subject Matter Specialist (SDL)
10. K.L. Rajnek, Subject Matter Specialist (SDL) (Migrant).
11. Omkar Nath Choudhary, Subject Divisional Agriculture Officer.
12. Satish Dogra, Sub-Divisional Agriculture Officer.
13. Susheel Kumar, Subject Matter Specialist (SDL)
14. Jawhar Lal Sangra, Sub-Divisional Agriculture Officer.

15. K.C. Azad (SC) Subject Matter Specialist (SDL).

The Officer at Serial No. 1, 3, 9 and 11 to 15 report to Director of Agriculture, Jammu and those at Serial No. 2,4, to 8 and 10 to Director of Agriculture, Kashmir for further orders of posting.

Charge allowance shall be drawn by only those officers who physically join at the new place of posting.

Advance, T.A. as admissible under rules is also sanctioned in favour of officers in whose case change of station is involved.

Consequent upon the above, on joining of the adjusted officers in Kashmir division, the junior most officers adjusted on District Level Posts in stop-gap arrangement vide Government Order. No. 481-Agri. of 1992 dated 17.9. 1992 shall revert to the post they were holding prior to such adjustment and so on down the cadre.

By order of the Government of Jammu and Kashmir.

Sd/-

(Pradeep Gupta)
Deputy Secretary to Govt.
Agriculture Prod. & Rural Dev. Deptt.

No: Agri/ E/9/93/ Genl/ Gazi.

Dated: 18.2.1994

ANNEXURE "E"

**Government of Jammu & Kashmir,
Office of the Deputy Commissioner, Kupwara (Kashmir)**

Subject : Grant of Ex-gratia relief.

Ref : Government Order No. 388-GAD of 1995 dated: 03-06-1995.
ORDER NO: DCK-R/MG-4 of 1995
DATED: 30-08-95

In pursuance of Government Order No. 388-GAD of 1995 dated:03-08-95 Ex-gratia relief totaling to an amount of Rs. 63,51,600/- (Rupees sixty three lakhs, fifty one thousand and six hundred only is hereby sanctioned in favour of as many as 121 Kashmiri Hindu Migrants listed in Annexure to this order (page 1 to 9) for the immovable property gutted in fire due to subversion to the extent 50% of the loss assessed subject to a maximum of Rs.1:00 Lakhs (Rupees one lakh only) upper limit fixed by the Government for the amounts shown against each case.

Sd/-
(B.R.Sharma.) IAS
Deputy Commissioner,
Kupwara,

No: DCK (R)/

ANNEXURE TO ORDER NO: DCK-R/MG-4 OF 1995 DATED 30.08.1995

Sno.	Name of the Sufferer(s) with particulars	Nature/ brief description of loss.	Date of incident with reference to F.I.R.	Loss Assessed	Amount of relief sanctioned
(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)	(5)	(6)
1.	Ragu Nath S/o Tota Ram R/o Khanabal Handwara.	Resi, House	20-21.09.1995 138/91	1.63 lacs.	Rs. 81,500/- (Rupees Eighty One Thousand Five Hundred)
2.	Arjan Dev S/o Kasturi Lal R/o Handwara.	-do-	-do-	0.865 lacs.	Rs.44,250/-(Rupees Forty Four thousand Two hundred fifty) .
3.	Triloki Nath S/o Shuban Lal R/o Handwara	-do-	7-8.05.1991 53/91	1.44 lacs.	Rs. 72,000/- (Rupees Seventy Two Thousand)
4.	Moti Lal S/o Kashi Ram R/o Handwara	-do-	29.04.1990 65/90	0.884 lacs.	Rs. 44,200/- (Rupees Forty four Thousand two hundred)
5.	Gopinath & Nilkanth S/o Kashu Ram R/o Handwara	-do-	27.9.1990 119/90	0.665 lacs.	Rs.33,250/-(Rupees Thirty three Thousand two Hundred and fifty)
6.	Kashi Nath Kaw S/o Sarwanand, R/o Khanabal Handwara	-do-	18/1993 90/93	0.778 lacs.	Rs.38,900/- (Rupees Thirty Eight Thousand Nine hundred)
7.	Ashok Kumar & Nilkanth S/o Anand Ram R/o Khanabal	-do-	20-21.10.1991 160/91	1.384 lacs.	Rs.69,200/- (Rupees Sixty Nine thousand Two hundred) .

8	Bansilal S/o Radha Krishnan & Soom Nath S/o Parkash Ram R/o Handwara.	Resi. House	14.12.1990 137/190	1.916 lacs	Rs.95,800/- (Rupees Ninety Five thousand Eight Hundred).
9.	Ragu Nath & Prithvi Nath S/o Sarwanand R/o Gund Dolipora.	-do-	190/91	0.70 lacs	Rs. 35,000/- (Rupees Thirty Five Thousand)
10.	Nathji & Dina Nath Ss/o Tara Chand R/o Gund Dolipora	-do-	-do-	0.45 lacs	Rs.22,500/- (Rupees Twenty Two Thousand Five Hundred).
11.	Prem Nath S/o Parkash Ram R/o Gund Dolipora	-do-	-do-	0.50 lacs	Rs.25,000/- (Rupees Twenty Five Thousand)
12.	Prem Nath S/o Parkash Ram R/o Gund Dolipora	-do-	190/91	0.60 lacs	Rs.30,000/- (Rupees Thirty Thousand) Only.
13.	Poshkar Nath S/o Parkash Ram R/o Gund Dolipora	-do-	-do-	0.50 lacs	Rs.25,000/- (Rupees Twenty Five Thousand)
14.	Bansi Lal, Motilal & Bhushan Lal S/o Amar Nath R/o Gund Dolipora	-do-	-do-	0.60 lacs	Rs.30,000/- (Rupees Thirty Thousand) Only.
15.	Jaggar Nath S/o Govind Ram R/o Gund Dolipora	-do-	-do-	0.70 lacs	Rs.35,000/- (Rupees Thirty Five Thousand) Only.
16.	Janki Nath, Brij Nath & Chaman Lal Ss/o Tika Ram R/o Gund Dolipora	-do-	-do-	0.80 lacs	Rs.40,000/- (Rupees Forty Thousand) Only.
17.	Kashi Nath, Radha Krishan Prithvi Nath & Ragu Nath Ss/o Sarwanand R/o Gund Dolipora	-do-	-do-	0.60 lacs	Rs.30,000/- (Rupees Thirty Thousand) Only.

18.	Radha Krishan S/o Sarwanand R/o Gund Dolipora	Resi. House	-do-	0.60 lacs	Rs.25,000/- (Rupees Twenty Five Thousand)
19.	Kanshi Nath S/o Sarwanand R/o Gund Dolipora	-do-	-do-	0.50 lacs	Rs.25,000/- (Rupees Twenty Five Thousand)
20.	Soom Nath, Ratan Lal Ss/o Kant Ram R/o Vilgam.	-do-	-do-	0.50 lacs	Rs.30,000/- (Rupees Thirty Thousand) Only.
21.	Prem Nath S/o Amar Chand R/o Vilgam.	-do-	-do-	0.60 lacs	Rs.30,000/- (Rupees Thirty Thousand) Only.
22.	Master Mohan Lal S/o Ganesh Dass R/o Vilgam.	-do-	-do-	1.00 lacs	Rs.50,000/- (Rupees Fifty Thousand) Only.
23.	Roshan Lal S/o Parsad Ram R/o Vilgam.	-do-	-do-	0.70 lacs	Rs.35,000/- (Rupees Thirty Five Thousand)
24.	Sham Lal, Dina Nath and Kanshi Nath Ss/o Mahdev Ram R/o Vilgam.	-do-	-do-	1.00 lacs	Rs.50,000/- (Rupees Fifty Thousand) Only.
25.	Bansi Lal Dil S/o Kashu Ram R/o Vilgam.	-do-	-do-	1.50 lacs	Rs.75,000/- (Rupees Seventy Five Thousand) Only.
26.	Janki Nath, Roshan Lal S/o Veshamber Nath & Kamlesh Kumari R/o Vilgam.	Resi House	151/92	1.00 lacs	Rs.50,000/- (Rupees Fifty Thousand) Only.
27.	Jawahar Lal S/o Sarwanand R/o Vilgam.	-do-	-do-	0.50 lacs	Rs.25,000/- (Rupees Twenty Five Thousand)
28.	Master Brig Nath S/o Suraj Ram R/o Vilgam.	-do-	-do-	0.70 lacs	Rs.35,000/- (Rupees Thirty Five Thousand)

29.	Kanya Lal & Gori Shori D/o Masher Nath R/o Vilgam.	Resi. House	-do-	1.50 lacs	Rs.75,000/- (Rupees Seventy Five Thousand) Only.
30.	Girdari Lal, Vhaman Lal, Shambo Nath & Shuban Lal R/o Vilgam.	-do-	-do-	0.60 lacs	Rs.30,000/- (Rupees Thirty Thousand) Only.
31.	Janki Nath, Sat Lal Ss/o Nand Ram R/o Vilgam.	-do-	-do-	0.60 lacs	Rs.30,000/- (Rupees Thirty Thousand) Only.
32.	Managing Committee Ashram Mandir Vilgam	Shrine	-do-	1.80 lacs	Rs.90,000/- (Rupees Ninety Thousand) Only.
33.	Sarwanand S/o Dev Ram R/o Chogal.	Resi House	1992,195/93	0.70 lacs	Rs.35,000/- (Rupees Thirty Five Thousand).
34.	Lalji S/o Masher Bhat & Sunita D/o Lalji R/o Khirman Tilak Handwara.	Shali Machine	1990-91 1/1991	0.70 lacs	Rs.85,000/- (Rupees Eighty Five Thousand).
35.	Dwarka Nath S/o Sarwanand R/o Khirman Tilak	Resi House	1992 90/92	0.20 lacs	Rs.10,000/- (Rupees Ten Thousand) Only.
36.	Soom Nath S/o Masher Pandit R/o Gotango.	House, Kothar, Cow shed & Shop	1990-91 58/90	1.50 lacs	Rs.75,000/- (Rupees Seventy Five Thousand)
37.	Makhan Lal S/o Masher Koul, Motilal S/o Nilkant & Soom Nath S/o Veshan Koul R/o Gotangoo.	Resi House/ Cow Shed	-do-	2.50 lacs	Rs.100,000/- (Rupees One Lakh Only).
38.	Dwarika Nath S/o Tika Lal R/o Gotangoo.	Resi House	-do-	0.90 lacs	Rs.45,000/- (Rupees Forty Five Thousand).
39.	Janki Nath S/o Kashi Ram R/o Gotangoo.	Resi House	1990-91 58/90	1.00 lacs	Rs.50,000/- (Rupees Fifty Thousand) Only.

40.	Janki Nath S/o Kashmir Ram R/o Gotangoo.	Kothar.	-do-	0.20 lacs	Rs.10,000/- (Rupees Ten Thousand) Only.
41.	Lassa Kak S/o Radha Krishan R/o Gotangoo.	Resi House	-do-	1.50 lacs	Rs.75,000/- (Rupees Seventy Five Thousand).
42.	Sarwanand & Janki Nath Ss/o Kashi Ram R/o Gotangoo.	Resi House & Cow Shed	-do-	2.50 lacs	Rs.100,000/- (Rupees One Lakh Only).
43.	Prem Nath S/o Jia Lal and Avtar S/o Prem Nath R/o Gotangoo.	Resi House & Cow Shed	-do-	2.20 lacs	Rs.100,000/- (Rupees One Lakh Only).
44.	Brij Nath S/o Prem Nath R/o Gotangoo.	Resi House Kotar & Rice Husker	-do-	2.15 lacs	Rs.100,000/- (Rupees One Lakh Only).
45.	Poshkar Nath S/o Tara Chand R/o Gotangoo.	Resi House and Cow Shed	1990-91 46/90	1.75 lacs	Rs.87,500/- (Rupees Eighty Seven Thousand Five Hundred).
46.	Makhan Lal S/o Tara Chand R/o Gotangoo.	Resi House & Cow Shed	-do-	1.65 lacs	Rs.82,500/- (Rupees Eighty Two Thousand Five Hundred).
47.	Janki Nath S/o Tara Chand R/o Gotangoo.	Resi House & Cow Shed	-do-	1.75 lacs	Rs.87,500/- (Rupees Eighty Seven Thousand Five Hundred).
48.	Krishan Lal & Gashi Lal Ss/o Srikant R/o Gotangoo.	Resi House & Cow Shed	-do-	1.20 lacs	Rs.60,000/- (Rupees Sixty Thousand) Only
49.	Sham Lal S/o Sudershan R/o Gotangoo.	Resi House Kothar and Shop	47/90	1.90 lacs	Rs.95,000/- (Rupees Ninety Five Thousand).
50.	Ratan Lal S/o Sham Lal R/o Gotangoo.	Resi House & Cow Shed	-do-	1.50 lacs	Rs.75,000/- (Rupees Seventy Five Thousand).

51.	Badri Nath S/o Shamboo Nath R/o Gotangoo.	House	-do-	1.75 lacs	Rs.87,500/- (Rupees Eighty Seven Thousand Five Hundred).
52.	Jawahar Lal S/o Tara Chand R/o Gotangoo.	-do-	-do-	1.70 lacs	Rs.85,000/- (Rupees Eighty Five Thousand).
53.	Kashi Nath S/o Tara Chand R/o Gotangoo.	Resi House & Kothar	47/90	1.90 lacs	Rs.95,000/- (Rupees Ninety Five Thousand).
54.	Shambo Nath S/o Anand Ram R/o Gotangoo.	-do-	-do-	1.95 lacs	Rs.97,500/- (Rupees Ninety Seven Thousand Five Hundred).
55.	Janki S/o Parkash Ram R/o Gotangoo.	Resi House	-do-	2.00 lacs	Rs.100,000/- (Rupees One Lakh Only).
56.	Soom Nath S/o Jia Lal R/o Gotangoo.	-do-	1990-91 1/90	1.50 lacs	Rs.75,000/- (Rupees Seventy Five Thousand).
57.	Ashok Kumar S/o Dina Nath R/o Gund Gushi.	-do-& Cow Shed	-do-	1.80 lacs	Rs.90,000/- (Rupees Ninety Thousand) Only.
58.	Chaman Lal S/o Dina Nath R/o Gund Gushi.	Resi House	-do-	1.50 lacs	Rs.75,000/- (Rupees Seventy Five Thousand).
59.	Bansi Lal S/o Tulsi Das R/o Kupwara.	-do-	1991-92 154/92	3.00 lacs	Rs.100,000/- (Rupees One Lakh Only).
60.	Makhan Lal Thasoo Advocate	-do- Partly	-do-	0.50 lacs	Rs.25,000/- (Rupees Twenty Five Thousand).
61.	Smt. Omavati W/o Makhan Lal R/o Kupwara.	-do-	118/95 2.8.95	0.50 lacs	Rs.25,000/- (Rupees Twenty Five Thousand).

62.	Vijay Kumar S/o Radha Krishan R/o Kupwara.	Shop	-do-	0.50 lacs	Rs.25,000/- (Rupees Twenty Five Thousand).
63.	Trelak Nath S/o Ragu Ram R/o Bumhama.	Resi House	319/95	1.00 lacs	Rs.50,000/- (Rupees Fifty Thousand) Only.
64.	Chaman Lal S/o Ram Chand R/o Bumhama.	-do-	-do-	1.00 lacs	Rs.50,000/- (Rupees Fifty Thousand) Only.
65.	Gopal Chand S/o Parmanand Khitrey R/o Kupwara	-do-	124/91	0.50 lacs	Rs.25,000/- (Rupees Twenty Five Thousand).
66.	Tilkaraj S/o Charandass Khitrey R/o Kupwara	Shop	132/91	0.60 lacs	Rs.30,000/- (Rupees Thirty Thousand) Only.
67.	Prem Kumar S/o Charan Das R/o Kupwara.	-do-	-do-	0.60 lacs	Rs.30,000/- (Rupees Thirty Thousand) Only.
68.	Raj Kumar S/o Charan Das R/o Kupwara	Shop	132/91	0.60 lacs	Rs.30,000/- (Rupees Thirty Thousand) Only.
69.	Ram Lubhaya S/o Ram Singh R/o Kupwara	-do-	-do-	0.20 lacs	Rs 10,000/- (Rupees Ten Thousand) Only.
70.	Arjan S/o Lakhi Singh R/o Kupwara	Shed	2/94	0.60 lacs	Rs 30,000/- (Rupees Thirty Thousand) Only.
71.	Terth Singh S/o Lakhi Singh R/o Kupwara	-do-	-do-	0.60 lacs	Rs.30,000/- (Rupees Thirty Thousand) Only.
72.	Joginder Singh S/o Teerath Singh R/o Kupwara	-do-	-do-	0.60 lacs	Rs.30,000/- (Rupees Thirty Thousand) Only.
73.	Nanki Kaur W/o Kaiser Singh R/o Kupwara	Shop	-do-	0.60 lacs	Rs.30,000/- (Rupees Thirty Thousand) Only.

74.	Roshan Lal S/o Sham Lal Pandit R/o Tekipora.	Kothar	-do-	0.40 lacs	Rs.20,000/- (Rupees Twenty Thousand) Only.
75.	Kanya Lal S/o Parkash Ram R/o Tekipora.	-do-	-do-	0.40 lacs	Rs.20,000/- (Rupees Twenty Thousand) Only.
76.	Mohan Lal S/o Hari Chand R/o Tekipora.	-do-	-do-	0.40 lacs	Rs.20,000/- (Rupees Twenty Thousand) Only.
77.	Naranjan Nath S/o Nand Lal R/o Tekipora.	Resi House	-do-	1.50 lacs	Rs.75,000/- (Rupees Seventy Five Thousand).
78.	Badri Nath S/o Sham Lal R/o Tekipora.	-do-	-do-	1.50 lacs	Rs.75,000/- (Rupees Seventy Five Thousand).
79.	Ram Nath S/o Balak Ram Pandit. R/o Tekipora.	-do-	-do-	1.50 lacs	Rs.75,000/- (Rupees Seventy Five Thousand).
80.	Vinod Kumar S/o Kant Ram Pandit R/o Tekipora.	Shop	-do-	1.60 lacs	Rs.80,000/- (Rupees Eighty Thousand) Only.
81.	Badri Nath S/o Arjan Nath R/o Waterkhani	Resi House	327/93	4.00 lacs	Rs.100,000/- (Rupees One Lakh Only).
82.	Janki Nath S/o Shiv Ram R/o Waterkhani	-do-	-do-	2.30 lacs	Rs.100,000/- (Rupees One Lakh Only).
83.	Omkar Nath S/o Janki Nath R/o Waterkhani	-do-	-do-	1.30 lacs	Rs.65,000/- (Rupees Sixty Five Thousand).
84.	Nilkant, Dina Nath & Gopi Ss/o Mahadev Ram R/o Waterkhani	Resi House	327/93	2.95 lacs	Rs.100,000/- (Rupees One Lakh Only).
85.	Amar Nath S/o Mahadev Ram R/o Waterkhani	-do-	-do-	1.60 lacs	Rs.80,000/- (Rupees Eighty Thousand) Only.

86.	Ragu Nath S/o Mahadev Ram R/o Waterkhani	Resi. House	-do-	2.95 lacs	Rs.100,000/- (Rupees One Lakh Only).
87.	Sarwanand S/o Mahadev Ram R/o Waterkhani	-do-	-do-	2.90 lacs	Rs.100,000/- (Rupees One Lakh Only).
88.	Ragu Nath Sarwanand & Amar Nath Ss/o Mahadev Ram R/o Waterkhani	-do-	-do-	1.35 lacs	Rs.67,500/- (Rupees Sixty Seven Thousand Five Hundred).
89.	Roshan Lal S/o Amar Nath R/o Waterkhani	-do-	-do-	2.70 lacs	Rs.100,000/- (Rupees One Lakh Only).
90.	Prem Nath S/o Aftab Ram R/o Waterkhani	-do-	-do-	1.30 lacs	Rs.65,000/- (Rupees Sixty Five Thousand).
91.	Kanya Lal S/o Surinder Pandit R/o Sanzipora.	-do-	22/94	1.00 lacs	Rs.50,000/- (Rupees Fifty Thousand) Only.
92.	Parsad Koul & Prem Nath Ss/o Nan Kour R/o Batgund.	-do-	13/92	0.70 lacs	Rs.35,000/- (Rupees Thirty Five Thousand).
(ii)	-do-	Kothar	-do-	0.15 lacs	Rs.7,500/- (Rupees Seven Thousand Five Hundred).
(iii)	-do-	Cow Shed	-do-	0.10 lacs	Rs.5,000/- (Rupees Five Thousand).
93.	Kundan Lal S/o Lakh Koul R/o Batgund.	Cow Shed	-do-	0.15 lacs	Rs.7,500/- (Rupees Seventy Thousand Five Hundred).
94.	Makhan Lal, Kashi & Nilkant Ss/o Lal Koul R/o Batgund.	Kothar Cow Shed, & Kitchen	-do-	0.60 lacs	Rs.30,000/- (Rupees Thirty Thousand).
95.	Ragu Nath S/o Shiv Ram R/o Batgund.	House/Rice Husker	-do-	1.75 lacs	Rs.87,500/- (Rupees Eighty Seven Thousand Five Hundred).

96.	Kashi Nath & Soom Nath Ss/o Shanker Das R/o Badkote.	Resi House	-do-	1.30 lacs	Rs.65,000/- (Rupees Sixty Five Thousand).
97.	Badri Nath, Jia Lal Ss/o Surinder Pandit R/o Badkote Mochipora.	Resi House	13/92	0.80 lacs	Rs.40,000/- (Rupees Forty Thousand).
98.	Sarwanand S/o Vashnu Pandit & Jawahar Lal S/o Vashnu Pandit R/o Badkote Mochipora.	-do-	-do-	0.70 lacs	Rs.35,000/- (Rupees Thirty Five Thousand).
99.	Moti & Avatar Krishan R/o Badkote.	-do-	-do-	0.40 lacs	Rs.20,000/- (Rupees Twenty Thousand).
100.	Moti Lal S/o Nanaju R/o Badkote.	-do-	-do-	0.20 lacs	
101.	Dwarika Nath S/o Shivji R/o Badkote.	-do-	-do-	0.45 lacs	Rs.22,500/- (Rupees Twenty two Thousand Five Hundred).
102.	Ragu Nath S/o Aftab Ram R/o Badkote.	-do-	-do-	0.40 lacs	Rs.20,000/- (Rupees Twenty Thousand).
103.	Poshkar Nath S/o Amar Nath, Badri Nath S/o Gash Ram R/o Ujroo.	Cow Shed	-do-	0.10 lacs	Rs. 5,000/- (Rupees Five Thousand) only.
104.	Prem Nath S/o Nathu Ram R/o Khanu Babagund.	Resi House	-do-	0.75 lacs	Rs.37,500/- (Rupees Thirty Seven Thousand Five Hundred)
105.	Soom Nath S/o Hari Ram R/o Khanu Babagund.	-do-	13/91	0.35 lacs	Rs.17,500/- (Rupees Seventeen Thousand Five Hundred)
106.	Krishan S/o Chander Nath & Jawahar Lal S/o Nath Ram R/o Khanu Babagund.	-do-	-do-	0.70 lacs	Rs.35,000/- (Rupees Thirty Five Thousand).

107.	Girdari Lal S/o Sudershan R/o Khanu Babagund	Resi. House and Cow Shed	-do-	1.50 lacs	Rs.55,000/- (Rupees Fifty Five Thousand).
108.	Mohan Lal S/o Babu Ram R/o Kargam.	Resi House	-do-	0.70 lacs	Rs.35,000/- (Rupees Thirty Five Thousand).
109.	Lassa Ram S/o Jia Lal R/o Magam Batapora.	Resi. House and Cow Shed	-do-	1.30 lacs	Rs.65,000/- (Rupees Sixty Five Thousand).
110	Ashok Kumar S/o Dina Nath Lassa Ram S/o Jia R/o Magam Batapora.	-do-	-do-	0.60 lacs	Rs.30,000/- (Rupees Thirty Thousand).
111.	Shambo Nath S/o Amar Chand R/o Magam Batapora.	Resi House	17/91	0.85 lacs	Rs.42,500/- (Rupees Forty Two Thousand Five Hundred)
112.	Ratan Nath S/o Gajan Nath R/o Langate.	Cow Shed and Resi House	-do-	1.10 lacs	Rs.55,000/- (Rupees Fifty Five Thousand).
113.	Balii S/o Jagar Nath R/o Langate.	-do-	-do-	1.00 lacs	
114.	Roshan Lal, Bushan Lal & Chuni Lal Ss/o Tika Ram R/o Nehama.	-do-	-do-	1.25 lacs	Rs.62,500/- (Rupees Sixty Two Thousand Five Hundred).
115.	Prithvi Nath, Kanya Lal, Babu Ram, Chunilal, Poshkar Nath Ss/o Tara Chand R/o Rawalpura.	-do-	-do-	0.70 lacs	Rs.35,000/- (Rupees Thirty Five Thousand).
116.	Makhan Lal S/o Nath Ram R/o Babagund Langate.	-do- Cow Shed	-do-	0.80 lacs	Rs.40,000/- (Rupees Forty Thousand). Only
117.	Swroop Nath Pandit S/o Dina Nath Pandit R/o Magam	-do-	-do-	0.30 lacs	Rs.15,000/- (Rupees Fifteen Thousand). Only

118.	Prithvi Nath S/o Jia Lal R/o Langate	Resi. House	43/92	0.80 lacs	Rs.40,000/- (Rupees Forty Thousand). Onl
119.	Madhu Lal S/o Sudershan & Hady Nath S/o Jia Lal R/o Langate	-do-	-do-	1.20 lacs	Rs.60,000/- (Rupees Sixty Thousand). Only
120.	Shambu Nath S/o Ragu Nath (Two shares) Nanji S/o Maharaj & Kakaji S/o Radha Krishan (1 share each) R/o Langate	-do-	135/91	1.20 lacs	Rs. 60,000/- (Rupees Sixty Thousand). Only
121.	Hady Krishan S/o Radha Krishan R/o Ujroo.	-do-	-do-	0.60 lacs	Rs.30,000/- (Rupees Thirty Thousand).

OFFICE OF THE DISTRICT DEVELOPMENT COMMISSIONER, BUDGAM

Sub : Planned Development of Charara-I-Sharief – exgratia incentive package.

ORDER NO. DCB/Relief/CHAR/O9 of 1995 DATED : 31-07-1995.

Whereas vide Govt. Order No. 42.GAD Dated 18-05-1995 an Empowered Committee has been formed to look into among other things measures for rehabilitation of the sufferers and planned development of Chara-I-Sharief.

Whereas the Empowered Committee had considered the proposal for beautification and decongestion of the area around the shrine and accordingly notified vide Planning and Development Departments No. PD.9/8SG(Ch. Sharief) Dated 21-07-1995 an incentive package for relocation of the families affected by the development plan :

Whereas the Incentive package has been evolved in addition to exgratia relief of Rs. 1 lakh per gutted structure and 50% of the assessed loss :

Whereas the Incentive package is to ensure proper rehabilitation of the affected families and the concept is approved by the Ministry of Home Affairs:

Whereas due procedure has been followed regarding the notification of the revised plan for development of Charar-I-Sharief including that for the satellite town:

Whereas the person/s mentioned of Column (2) of Annexure to this order are entitled to receive Incentive package amount and a plot as per norms in the model/satellite town mentioned at column (6) in addition to the ex-gratia relief for their structures already sanctioned by the Deputy Commissioner, Budgam mentioned at column (4) and (5) out of State Relief Fund and Prime Minister's Relief Fund respectively against the assessment done by the duly constituted body by the Government in the Revenue Department subject to the condition that the said person/s draw an agreement/deed to surrender their rights and claims to the vestiges of structure, the land under the structure and that appurtenant to it in favour of Government of Jammu and Kashmir Revenue Department duly registered by a competent authority and also authenticated by the Tehsildar, Chadoora and Collector, Land Acquisition, Budgam that no other person/s has any claim to the structure and/or land:

Whereas those of the structure owners who had received partial payment for the structures under the old town planning scheme shall be entitled to deduction of the equal amount that they have already received from the Incentive package:

Whereas the custodian and in the mode/satellite town is the Executive Engineer R&B Chadoora:

Whereas the actual distribution of Incentive amount through payee's A/C cheques and handing over of possession of a plot in the model/satellite town under incentive package as per the result of draw of lots conducted by a duly constituted Committee comprising of Director Rural Development Kashmir (Additional Commissioner Relief, Kashmir). Collector land Acquisition, Budgam and Executive Engineer, R&B, Chadoora and Tehsildar, Chadoora that the said person/s has actually handed over the possession of the structure and the land coming under the revised plan of old town Chari Sharief to the Executive Engineer, R&B Chadoora:

Whereas the person/s to whom a plot is allotted in the model/satellite town shall be bound to abide by the building construction norms/restrictions that may be imposed under due process of law by competent authority:

Now, therefore, the amount of Incentive as mentioned in column (6) of the Annexure to this order is hereby sanctioned in favour of the persons/s mentioned at column (2).

Tehsildar Chadoora shall undertake disbursement to the concerned through payee's A/C cheques after following instructions and codal provisions and shall maintain separate accounts including acquittance rolls for the Incentive Package.

This issues with the approval conveyed by the Planning and Development Department vide their No. PD-9/HSG-86(Ch. Sharief) Dated 27-07-1995.

Sd/- (Sundeep K. Nayak) IAS

Distt. Dev. Commissioner, Budgam

WARD NO : (5)

ANNEXURE TO DISTRICT DEVELOPMENT COMMISSIONER, BUDGAM ORDER

S.No	Name of owner of structure coming under revised Dev. Plan.	Assessed cost of Structure.	Exgratia relief already sanctioned out of State Fund.	Exgratia relief already sanctioned out of PMs Fund.	Incentive now sanctioned	Reference to Sl.No. of structure in master list.	Plot No. earmarked for allotment as per draw of lots in Satellite Town.	Total Exgratia and incentive amount sanctioned (4+5+6)	Remarks
A	B	C	D	E	F	G	H	I	J
1.	Mst Zaina S/o Amir Uddin	84,255.00	42,127.00	1,00,000.00	76,731.00	1	45- II	2,18,858.00	
2.	Mohd. Qasim Sefi S/o Ama.	2,25,705.00	1,00,000.00	1,00,000.00	1,40,280.00	2	27- II	3,40,280.00	
3.	Shafiq Ahmed S/o Haji Jalaluddin.	8,15,213.00	1,00,000.00	1,00,000.00	2,00,000.00	3	138- I	4,00,000.00	
4.	Ch. Rasool Moshog S/o Ch. Ahmed Moshog sons of Ahahd Baba Moshog.	1,52,292.00	76,146.00	1,00,000.00	1,17,481.00	4	48- II	2,93,627.00	
5.	Ch. Rasool Mohshog S/o Ahmed Baba Mohshog.	1,60,453.00	80,226.50	1,00,000.00	1,20,703.00	5	10- II	3,00,929.50	
6.	Ch. Ahmed Mashog S/o Ahad Baba Moshog	1,72,552.00	86,276.00	1,00,000.00	1,26,158.00	6	43- II	3,12,434.00	

7.	Ch. Mohd. Mashooq S/o Ahad Baba Moshooq	1,86,623.00	93,111.00	1,00,000.00	1,30,906.00	7	26- II	3,24,017.50	
8.	Mustaq Ahmed Mashooq S/o Khalil Baba	2,74,213.00	1,00,000.00	1,00,000.00	1,57,106.00	8	17- II	3,57,196.00	
9.	Mohd Ayub S/o Khazir Baba Aijaz Ahmed S/o Mohd Ayub.	3,17,928.00	1,00,000.00	1,00,000.00	1,78,961.00	9	155- I	3,78,961.00	
10.	Ahad Baba Sonullah sons of Ab Karim Baba.	1,98,109.00	99,054.00	1,00,000.00	1,34,865.00	10	160- I	3,33,919.00	
11.	Ch Ahmed Trish-o S/o Ch. Rasool Baba Bashir Ahmed S/o Ch. Ahmed Trichoo.	2,54,603.00	1,00,000.00	1,00,000.00	1,47,301.00	11	148- I	3,47,311.00	
12.	Ch. Mohd. Ghushi S/o Sona Baba Gashi.	3,48,204.00	1,00,000.00	1,00,000.00	1,94,102.00	12	143- I	3,94,132.00	
13.	Bashir Ahmed Dadi S/o Mohd. Sidiq Dadi.	2,81,839.00	1,00,000.00	1,00,000.00	1,60,919.00	13	146- I	3,60,919.00	
14.	Ab. Rehman Baba S/o Kabir Baba.	2,87,953.00	1,00,000.00	1,00,000.00	1,63,976.00	14	134- I	3,63,976.00	

15.	Ch. Mustafa Sheikh Ch. Mohi-ud-din sons of Khaliq	2,11,785.00	1,00,000.00	1,00,000.00	1,37,917.00	15	141-1	3,37,917.00
16.	Assadullah S/o Gani Shah	1,83,516.00	94,258.00	1,00,000.00	1,32,079.00	16	130-1	3,26,337.00
17.	Ab. Hamid Khirka S/o Khazir Mohd. Baba.	4,74,534.00	1,00,000.00	1,00,000.00	2,00,000.00	17	151-1	4,00,000.00
18.	Ch. Ahmad Peer SIL Khazir Baba. Bashir Ahmed S/o Ch. Ahmed Pir.	3,67,595.00	1,00,000.00	1,00,000.00	2,00,000.00	18	150-1	4,00,000.00
19.	Mohd. Yousuf Shah S/o Mohd. Akbar.	4,03,811.00	1,00,000.00	1,00,000.00	2,00,000.00	19	135-1	4,00,000.00
20.	Muzamil Ahmed Shah S/o Mohd. Yousuf Shah.	69,681.00	34,840.00	1,00,000.00	65,925.00	20	128-1	2,00,365.50
21.	Fayaz Ahmad Shah S/o Ch. Mohd. Shah. Maazoor Ahmad S/o Mohd. Yousuf.	3,56,784.00	1,00,000.00	1,00,000.00	1,98,392.00	21	154-1	3,98,392.00
22.	Nazir Ahmad Shah S/o Ch. Mohd.	2,17,405.00 (-08,529.00)	1,00,000.00	1,00,000.00	1,37,947.00	22	142-1	3,37,947.00

23.	Ch. Heider Ganai S/o Gh. Hassan Ganai.	2,49,061.00	1,00,000.00	1,00,000.00	1,44,530.00	23	137-1	3.44.530.00	
24.	Mst. Fatma S/o Ab. Kabir Ganai.	3,44,826.00	1,00,000.00	1,00,000.00	1,92,413.00	24	125-1	3.92.413.00	
25.	Ch. Mohd. Ganai S/o Ch. Assad Ganai.	1,83,524.00	91,762.00	1,00,000.00	1,30,420.00	25	149-1	3.22.182.00	
26.	Mohd. Abdulla S/o Lassi Dar Abdul Salam S/o Lassi Dar Mohd. Altaf S/o Khaliq Dar.	3,63,126.00	1,00,000.00	1,00,000.00	2,00,000.00	26	147-1	4.00.000.00	
27.	Nazir Ahmad Baba S/o Abdul Aziz Baba Jeviq Ahmad Baba S/o Abdul Aziz Baba	3,36,777.00	1,00,000.00	1,00,000.00	1,88,388.00	27	62-1	3.88.388.00	
28.	Ch. Nabi S/o Habib Baba Mohd. Amin S/o Habib Baba Mushtaq Ahmad S/o Mohhhhd Amin Wazir.	3,40,098.00	1,00,000.00	1,00,000.00	1,90,049.00	28	12-1	3.90.049.00	

29.	Ab. Gani Wzir S/o Mohd. Sidiq Wazir. Sonullah S/oMohd. Sidiq.	3,26,1999.00	1,00,000.00	1,00,000.00	1,83,099.00	29	1- 2nd	3.83,099.00	
30.	Ch. Mohd. S/o Ali Dar Hati Mohd. Yousuf S/o Ch. Mohd. Dar Mohd. Akbar Dar S/o Abdul Rehman Dar.	3,37,042.00	1,00,000.00	1,00,000.00	1,88,521.00	30	152- I	3.99,521.00	
31.	Naba Baba son in law of Mohd. Ganai Nazir Ahmad son of Naba Baba. Abdul Ahad Ganai S/o Mohd. Sidiq.	2,92,233.00	1,00,000.00	1,00,000.00	1,66,116.00	31	127- I	3,66,116.00	
32.	a) Ch. Nabi S/o Late Khalil Wani b) Ali Mohd. S/o Late Khalil Wani.	2,75,847.00	1,00,000.00	1,00,000.00	1,57,923.00	32	153- I	3,57,923.00	
33.	Mohd Haqbool Gh. Hassan Sons of Wazir Baba	5,25,793.00	1,00,000.00	1,00,000.00	2,00,000.00	33	135- I	4,00,000.00	

34.	a) Gh Mohd. S/o Rehman Dar b) Rehman Dar S/o Gafar Dar c) Ama Dar S/o Gafar Dar.	2,42,450.00	1,00,000.00	1,00,000.00	1,43,249.00	34	155-1	2,43,249.00	
35.	Ab Aziz S/o Lassi Dar	2,53,322.00	1,00,000.00	1,00,000.00	1,46,661.00	35	140-1	2,46,661.00	
36.	Ch. Rasool Dar S/o Lassi	2,81,765.00	1,00,000.00	1,00,000.00	1,60,882.00	36	15-1	3,60,882.00	
37.	Ab. Khaliq S/o Samad Para	2,11,065.00	1,00,000.00	1,00,000.00	1,37,507.00	37	156-1	3,37,507.00	
38.	a) Akbair Parra S/o Ama Parra b) Ama Parra S/o Ch. Mohd c) Samad Parra S/o Ch. Mohd.	3,19,488.00	1,00,000.00	1,00,000.00	1,75,744.00	38	162-1	2,75,744.00	

No.DCB/Relief/95/1535-54

Dated : 31-07-1995.

WARD NO : (3)

ANNEXURE TO DISTRICT DEVELOPMENT COMMISSIONER BUDGAM ORDER

S.No.	Name of owner of structure coming under revised Dev. Plan.	Assessed cost of Structure.	Exgratia relief already sanctioned out of State Fund.	Exgratia relief already sanctioned out of PMs Fund.	Incentive now sanctioned.	Reference to Sl.No. of structure in master list.	Plot No. earmarked for allotment as per draw of lots in Satellite Town.	Total Exgratia and incentive amount sanctioned (4+5+6)	Remarks
A	B	C	D	E	F	G	H	I	J
1	Aziz son of Mohd. Ganai	1,43,908.00	71,954.00	1,00,000.00	1,13,773.00	3	134 - II	2,85,778.00	
2.	Gh.Qadir son of Ahmed Ganai.	1,63,671.00	81,835.50	1,00,000.00	1,22,859.00	4	123- II	3,04,694.50	
3.	Khalil s/o Ahmed (1/2) and Rasul son in law of Maqbool Dar (half)	2,44,127.00	1,00,000.00	1,00,000.00	1,44,104.00	5	121- II	3,44,104.00	
4.	Ghznabi Abdul Gani Abdul Ahad. Zahoor Ahmad sons of Rahim Para (equally)	2,61,870.00	1,00,000.00	1,00,000.00	1,50,935.00	102	104- II	3,50,935.00	

5	Gh. Mohd. Ab. Rashid sons of Akram Para	1,65,892.00	82,946.00	1,00,000.00	1,23,088.00	103	142- II	3,06,034.00	
6	Gh. Nabi Bashir Ahmed sons of Akram Parra equally.	88,252.00	44,126.00	1,00,000.00	79,566.00	104	107- II	2,23,692.00	
7	Fateh w/o Ali Mohd. Punjabi one half Mohd. Ashraf S.I.L. of All Mohd. (equally)	1,18,271.00	59,135.00	1,00,000.00	99,485.00	105	127- II	2,58,620.50	
8	Mohd. Akbar son of Ahad Mir	1,05,206.00	52,603.00	1,00,000.00	90,860.00	106	118- II	2,43,463.00	
9	Hat Fazi Mst Azizi D/o Mohd Dar Khuja.	2,55,293.00	1,00,000.00	1,00,000.00	1,47,646.00	110	135- II	3,47,646.00	
10	Ama s/o Mohd. Dar	1,95,545.00	97,772.50	1,00,000.00	1,33,327.00	111	130- II	3,31,099.50	
11	Rehman Gh. Nabi s/o Vhaliq Teli equally.	2,47,480.00	1,00,000.00	1,00,000.00	1,43,740.00	112	120- II	3,43,740.00	

12.	Jamal Fatah son of Cadir Teli.	2,17,553.00	1,00,000.00	1,00,000.00	1,39,429.00	113	132- II	3,39,429.00	
13.	Gh. Mohd. Son of Jamal Teli.	55,746.00	27,873.00	1,00,000.00	53,856.00	114	143- II	1,81,729.00	
14.	Mohd. Yousuf S/o Ahad ½ Gh. Ahmed Abdul Rahim S/o Qadir Parra equally 1/2	2,24,466.00	1,00,000.00	1,00,000.00	1,41,456.00	107	112- II	3,41,456.00	

(SUNDEEP.K.NAYAK) IAS
DISTT. DEV. COMMISSIONER
BUDGAM

(ALTAF HUSSAIN ANDRABI)
COLLECTOR
BUDGAM

(M.Y. RATHER)
EXECUTIVE ENGINEER,
DIVN. CHADURA

(MIRAJUDDIN)
DISTT. SUPERINTENDING
ENGINEER,
R&B CIRCLE
SRINAGAR(BUDGAM)

REPORT
(PART-III)

**Fifth Memorandum for submission to Hon'ble Chairman and members of
National Human Rights Commission At New Delhi On 16th Jan' 1996**

In continuation of our memorandum dated 20th Dec., 1995 we forward herewith Part-IV (Part I and II already submitted to the Commission on 20th Dec. 1995) along with the required enclosures)

Part IV Contains:-

Section (a) Effecting Demographic change in Kashmir Valley.

Section (b) Dispossession & Bias.

- i) Fire sufferers,
- ii) Loanees
- iii) Agriculturists and Orchardists.

Section (c) Annexures

With this, we conclude the process of collection of details for NHRC. However, the process of consolidation of figures and other data shall continue at our level for the purpose of record and use in future. Since the Commission, with wide powers at its command, is empowered to:

- i) enquire on its own,
- ii) recommend remedial measures and invoke attention of the Government, and each House of Parliament through its annual/special report, we are of the belief that the Commission in our case shall act decisively.

We would, in the end, reiterate that the Commission may:-

- (a) in pursuance of the powers vested in the Commission vide proviso (a) of sub-section (i) of section 17 of the Protection of Human Rights Act 1993, initiate a suo-motto enquiry into the:-
- i) Genocide,
 - ii) Exodus and
 - iii) 'Apartheid'
- of the Kashmiri Hindu Community;
- (b) consider to fix a time-frame for finalisation of its findings/report;
- (c) fix up the responsibilities in regard to human rights violations committed against us and review the factors that inhibit to enjoy the human rights, and
- (d) recommend appropriate remedial measures to redress the wrongs and humiliations suffered by Kashmiri Hindu community.

Regards,

For and on Behalf of Kashmiri Hindu Community,

(Ashwani Kumar Chrungoo)

Convener

Panun Kashmir Movement(PKM)

16-01-1996

Part – IV

Sec-(a) Effecting demographic change in Valley.

1. Various policies and programmes adopted by the government of Jammu and Kashmir since the State acceded to the Union of India in October 1947 have resulted in changing the demographic complexion of the valley. A brief account of the same is given below:-
 - i) A sizeable section of Hindus from those areas of the valley, which had been overrun by the raiders from Pakistan but were retrieved back, left the valley in 1947-48 due to insecurity. No one from the State administration cared to take steps to recall them after these areas were cleared of the raiders.
 - ii) The non-Muslim population of the areas occupied by the raiders in October 1947 who could escape from being killed left their ancestral homes for safety. Muzaffarabad district of the erstwhile State of Jammu and Kashmir which continued to remain under occupation of Pakistan formed part of Kashmir Province of the State. The Hindu (including Sikh) refugees of this district who were approximately over 22,000 were not allowed to settle in the valley despite their willingness to do so. They had many relations, trade and business links in the valley. As against this, thousands of Muslim refugees who came over to the valley in 1948 from Sinkiang province of China during civil war were welcomed and settled in the valley. The descendants of these Muslim refugees are now permanent state subjects of Jammu and Kashmir State.
 - iii) A large number of Dogra Rajputs had settled in Kulgam Tehsil and other parts of the valley during the second half of nineteenth century. Dr. D.C. Sharma records in his article, "How Dogra Rajputs were ousted from the valley after 1947" – Daily Excelsior, Jammu (11.12.1994):

- a) "..... about 10,000 Dogra Rajputs were scattered in the 64 villages mostly Kulgam Tehsil".
- b) "Under the false notion of Kashmiryat, these Dogra Rajputs were termed as aliens and they were sounded through local police to leave the valley..... According to reliable sources ten buses were actually made available to them at Kazigund".

But due to intervention of Bhakshi Gulam Mohammad they did not migrate at that time.

- c) "After promulgation of Landed Property and Jagir Abolition Act the migration of Rajput community of Kashmir started in phases because the State could not provide alternative source of living to these Rajput families in spite of their request for equal justice".
- iv) The Big Landed Abolition Act promulgated by the National Conference Government of Sheikh Mohammad Abdulla transferred the ownership of agricultural lands to the tillers of land without payment of compensation to the landholders. This caused much economic distress to the Hindus of the Valley as no alternate sources of livelihood were arranged for the dispossessed landowners. The existing sources of Government service were curtailed for them and there was no expansion of private sector in early fifties in the State that could have provided alternate source of income to them. Even the opportunities for getting higher education for Kashmiri Hindus were drastically curtailed. This caused economic squeeze for the community forcing them to leave their ancestral habitat. Once out of valley they never returned as there was no source of livelihood available for them in the State. The process of silent migration of Hindus of valley continued slowly uninterrupted. The surprising fact is that no one in authority thought it worthwhile to enquire as to why the sons of the soil were compelled to leave the valley. Leaving aside the taking of any remedial steps to reverse this

trend, the silent migration of Hindus was tauntingly termed by the elite Muslims of valley as "search for green pastures by Hindus". The silent migration of Hindus presents a complete contrast to the establishment of business houses by Kashmiri Muslims in various cities of India and abroad. For expanding the business they receive all encouragement including financial help and other incentives including subsidies from the Government. Similar treatment was accorded to the seasonal Muslim migrant labourers who used to leave for plains in search of employment during lean winter months. They were provided facilities of "Sarais" at their centers of work. No one among the Muslim migrants has been forgotten and written-off as was the case with the 'Kashmiri migrants' between 1947-89.

- v) In the wake of communal violence of 1967 and 1986 in the valley, a large section of Kashmiri Hindus left the valley due to insecurity. No one from the administration even bothered to bring them back to the valley or even cared to know whether they had been able to rehabilitate themselves after their migration.

2) Apart from the policies followed by the Government, the statements of the prominent Muslim leaders of the valley too had smoothened the way for exodus of the Kashmiri Hindus. The following examples are quite revealing:-

- i) In his autobiography "Atish-I-Chinar", Sheikh Mohammad Abdullah observed that Kashmiri Pandits were a community of "fifth columnists", and that they were working as agents of the secret organizations. But certainly these observations did exercise adverse influence on the dealings of the majority Muslim community with the minority Kashmiri Hindu community. These observations encouraged suspicion and hatred of the majority towards the minority. The result was insecurity for the minority in the midst of overwhelming Muslim majority that necessitated and encouraged migration.

The observations of Sheikh Mohammad Abdullah were utilized with ease and implemented to destroy the minority Hindu community by the terrorists in 1989-90. The terrorists after killing members of the minority Hindu community labelled them "Mukhabirs", informers of the Government of India to justify the crime.

- ii) Prof. Saif-ud-Din Soz, Ex-Member Lok-Sabha and National Conference leader observed in his article "No Need To Pity Pandits" that appeared in the Hindustan Times of April 27, 1995 as under:-

"In the initial stage of violent strife, Muslim neighbours persuaded the Pandits not to leave the valley, but when the violence hotted up and the neighbourhood remained blissfully ignorant of the identity of young Mujahids whose visitations in particular localities had deepened suspicion and an uncertainty, they themselves advised their Pandit brethren to leave for safety. The Muslim neighbourhood had lost control over the situation.....

When threats appeared in local dailies, the entire Muslim community felt perturbed, but that had provided no solace to Pandits. The author had warned a local editor in Srinagar on phone around mid December 1989 of the disaster that threats through the print media could create. The editor only expressed his inability to resist the militant pressure".

The Kashmiri Pandits were advised, if not compelled, to leave the valley by the neighbouring Muslims. The advice needs to be evaluated after taking into consideration that when the friendly Muslim neighbours advised Kashmiri Pandits to leave for safety, the atmosphere in the entire Kashmir valley was already surcharged with grim forebodings, with killings of Hindus on selective basis, pasting of hit lists of terrorists on lamp posts with the names of Hindus figuring in them, blaring out on loudspeakers from all mosques of the valley during nights "Yahan Kya Challega Nizami-Mustfa" (Nizam-I-Mustafa shall prevail here).

“Asi Gachhi Pakistan Batav Bagair Batnaev San” (We want Pakistan without Pandits but along with Pandit Women), burning of Hindu properties and shrines etc. Was not the advice thus offered at that critical stage meant to shatter the last remnants of confidence of the Hindus in their neighbours? The administrative and political structures in the valley, which could have built up confidence of minorities to resist the threats of terrorists, had already collapsed and generally co-operated with the forces of anarchy. The Kashmiri Hindus had no one to look for who could help them in that situation. It may also be noted that all the assassination cases of Hindus were justified by one and all including the “friendly Muslim neighbours” as a just punishment awarded to “Mukhabir” (Informer) by the Mujahids. This was a well-planned scheme worked out to ensure the exodus of the Hindu minority from the valley to change the demographic complexion.

The editor of a local daily was pressurized to publish threats through print media against Kashmiri Pandits by the “Mujahids”. The unfortunate question remains why the concerned editor could not stop publication of his paper after the warnings about the disastrous effects of the threats. Why did not Prof. Soz himself condemn the threats extended to the Kashmiri Pandits through the national press or the electronic media? In course of time these very local editors stopped the publication of their papers several times when their own lives were threatened or when they apprehended their material interests would be harmed by the terrorists. No Muslim leader of any standing got up to condemn the publication of threats and extend assurance of safety to the minority community of Kashmiri Pandits.

3. Now let us turn to the attitude of Muslim leaders towards the minority Hindu community in regard to its return and resettlement in the valley. Here is a quotation from the article of Sh. Sunil Sethi-“Kashmir’s Cautionary Tale”- Daily Excelsior Jammu, June 6, 1994:

“There was really one disagreeable movement when I tagged along last week with a ‘Citizens for Democracy’ team (Justice Tarkunde, Kuldeep Nayer, Madhu Kishwar, et al) to visit Prof. Abdul Gani, Spokesperson of Hurriyat Conference, the alliance of 38 political and

professional groups Kuldeep Nayer asked him a simple question: Would the Hurriyat encourage the Kashmiri Pandits to return to valley?

“Prof. Gani began to hedge. First he said that there were not enough houses to rehabilitate the 1,50,000 Hindu refugees in the valley- many of their houses had been burnt or occupied. Then he said their return would be conditional to their going along with views of majority and that the Hurriyat could not assure them protection. Finally he said that the Kashmiri Pandits owed the people of the valley an explanation, if not an apology, as to why they left their homes in the first place. Prof. Gani was laying down the conditions for the return of Kashmiri Pandits to their homeland and it proved fairly useless to debate the issue with him”.

The quotation is self explanatory and needs no elucidation.

Sec-(b) **Dispossession & Bias**

- (i) Fire Sufferers,
- (ii) Loanees,
- (iii) Agriculturists & Orchardists.

(i) **Fire Sufferers**

Hindu property worth several thousand crores has been destroyed by burning and bomb blasts by the terrorists in the valley. The scorch-earth-policy has been adopted by the terrorists to ensure that the chances of return of Kashmiri Hindus to the valley are totally blocked with the destruction of their residential houses etc. Another purpose of this policy is to wipe out traces of Hindu culture from the valley.

The Government too by its indifferent attitude contributed its share in this vandalism by ignoring to make special arrangements for the upkeep and look-after of the vacant property of the Hindus. Data of the left over property of Hindus was collected by the Relief Commissioner's Department of the Government in September 1993. Unfortunately, till date it is not known what use the Government has made of that data.

The Government has sanctioned ex-gratia relief to the owners of the burnt properties at the rate of 50% of loss assessed subject to maximum of Rs. One lakh for each house. According to rules and procedures of Jammu and Kashmir Government, ex-gratia relief was sanctioned up to 1989 in such cases where loss was caused by natural calamities or due to accidents. The loot and arson of the displaced Kashmiri Hindu properties is caused due to the inability or failure of the Government to provide the desired and adequate protection against the terrorist action. It is the primary duty of any Government to provide security for the life and property of its law abiding citizens. The affected persons, therefore, clamour for payment of out-right compensation at the prevailing rates instead of ex-gratia relief.

The affected persons have voiced deep anguish against the procedure adopted for assessment of loss caused by arson to the properties. Kashmiri Hindu fire sufferers are not present at the site of occurrence of arson. Because of their absence, they have

not been able to retrieve anything nor are they aware about the standards adopted by the authorities for evaluating the loss. No opportunity has been afforded to the sufferers to file their objections against the evaluation made. The entire cost valuation of the loss suffered by the Hindu property owners needs review after taking into consideration the objections of the individual sufferers.

The ex-gratia cash relief has not been sanctioned impartially and uniformly among various sections of people. Apart from grant of cash, ex-gratia relief at higher rates, Muslim fire sufferers of Handwara, Charar etc. have been allotted free Government plots of land and supplied timber, tin and cement at concessional rates. No such benefits have been allowed to Hindu fire sufferers.

(List of fire sufferers -----Annexure-F)*

(ii) Loanees

A section of the Kashmiri Hindu displaced persons had constructed residential houses in the valley from the loans drawn by them from the government departments and public sector undertakings where they mortgaged their properties with the respective government departments and public sector undertakings. Some of these residential houses have been burnt by the terrorists while others are still standing. The displaced persons who had built these houses are now living in the rented accommodation while in exile. They are not enjoying any benefits from the properties built by them, yet they are made to repay the loans drawn by them.

In the case of house-boat owners, hoteliers who had drawn loans from various financial institutions in the valley for commercial purposes, the repayment of loans and charging of interest has been kept in abeyance. But this benefit is not extended to the Hindus as in the case of Hoteliers and House-boat owners!

(iii) Agriculturists and Orchardists

Among the Hindu displaced persons, there is a section of agriculturists and orchardists. Landed properties left behind by this section are income yielding assets. The income from these properties has been misappropriated and usurped since 1990

by the secessionists and terrorists of the valley. The government has chosen to be a silent spectator, as they have abandoned their responsibilities towards the displaced Hindu agriculturalists and orchardists. No one in the government has bothered to know how the incomes derived from the lands of the displaced have been utilized. The displaced Hindu agriculturists and orchardists have on several occasions brought their plight to the notice of the government who have chosen to ignore their plight. Now the matter is brought to the notice of the Commission.

Traders and Shop-Keepers

More than five years have elapsed but the Government of Jammu & Kashmir has not framed any policy to remove the distress of this section of the displaced Hindus. After having failed to get response of the Government, the traders and shop-keepers had undertaken 'dharna' and hunger-strike some two years back. The officers of the State administration promised to remove their difficulties but till date nothing has been done. How long will these people continue to suffer? A realistic policy for redressing their grievance has to be evolved.

(List of traders ----- Annexure-G)*

Discrimination in property insurance

The displaced Hindus whose properties in the valley have not been destroyed so far have been denied the right to insure their properties in case they had not already insured the same before 1990 and that there is no break in insurance coverage since then. Again the Insurance companies refuse to enhance the amount insured beyond 1990 level in respect of properties risk whereof is covered. No such restrictions are imposed on the properties of those persons who have not been displaced.

Biased Police Attitude

Movable properties were left behind by the Hindus in their residential houses. These properties have been stolen or looted during the absence of their owners. The police have either refused to enquire into such complaints or are usually reporting-

"the migrant has taken all his property along with him". It is unfortunate that the bias of the officers enquiring into such cases does not allow them to exercise their reason to ascertain the truth. It can be appreciated that a person forced to seek safety elsewhere can hardly take all his belongings along with. The Commission is requested to look into the biased reporting of the police stations of the valley.

* * * * *

***Annexure 'F' & 'G' have not been included here and are contained in the original Report (On Human Rights Violations in Kashmir).**

APPENDIX - I

**MEMORANDUM SUBMITTED TO NATIONAL HUMAN RIGHTS COMMISSION,
NEW DELHI ON 07-03-1994.**

We feel that there is an imperative necessity for an indepth investigation into Human Rights Violations of the Hindus in Kashmir. Human judgements which are presumed to be universal, as the Universal Declaration of Human Rights underlines norms and standards of human behaviour, which are generally accepted by the international community. The Universal Declaration of Human Rights does not admit arbitrary determination of parameters and judgements and therefore, location of responsibility for the protection of the human rights, must be visualized, in the basic principles of the Declaration. In the Charter of the United Nations, the peoples, constituting the United Nations, expressed their determination to reaffirm faith in the fundamental human rights, in the dignity and worth of the human person and human rights, and the equal rights of men and women and nations large and small.

The Universal Declaration of Human Rights adopted by the United Nations in 1948, and the subsequent International Covenants adopted in 1966, underline the universal recognition of human rights. The rights envisaged by the Declaration of Human Rights are universal in content and, therefore, the obligation of their protection is not limited to the authority of the State but extends to all social and political instruments as well as international organisations. The Declaration imposes obligations for the protection of Human Rights on 'all people' and all the 'Organs of the society' which include the State.

The Universal Declaration of Human Rights is not a partial guarantee and it does not envisage protection for a specific community or a section of the people of the 'community'. The safeguards envisaged by the Declaration of Human Rights are universal and are available to all the people of the world. The safeguards for the human rights are universal and are available to the people of the world irrespective of their nationality, the regime by which they are governed and the religion and race to which they belong. The Declaration of Human

Rights does not envisage protection of any single community in the world and insulate it against the infringements of the human rights. The Declaration extends protection to all the community/ State, more so, the Hindus and the other minorities, who are exposed to religious, political and economical dominance of a majority population committed to seek religious precedence, jihad, crusade for an Islamic State and the secession of the State from India with ulterior object to merge it with the State of Pakistan.

The Declaration of Human Rights is a guarantee against all ideological aggrandisement, including claims to religious precedence and envisages protection to all Hindus and other ethnic and religious minorities in Jammu and Kashmir against genocide, ethnic cleansing, religious persecution, as well as slavery and oppression, perpetrated upon them by the various instrumentalities of the State.

Muslim communalism, which is inherently fundamentalist, assumed dominance in the Government, society and the economic organisation of the Jammu and Kashmir State during the last forty-six years. After the partition of India, Pakistan invaded Jammu and Kashmir and Muslims inhabiting the Jammu province and the frontier districts of the Kashmir province, who had supported the Muslim movement in India for Pakistan, and who form nearly half of the Muslim population of the State, fraternised with the invaders. The Hindus and the other minorities in the State, joined by the Kashmiri speaking Muslims of the Kashmir Province, together constituting, approximately two thirds of the population of the State, supported the accession of the State to India. Around thirty eight thousand of Hindus, Sikhs and Buddhists were massacred by the invading armies of Pakistan. Due to the United Nations intervention, invoked by India to secure the withdrawal of Pakistan from the State, a truce-agreement was foisted upon India, and almost half the territories of the State, left under the occupation of the invading armies.

No sooner the accession of the State to India was brought about and the State Government reconstituted, to transfer power to the people in the State, in accordance with the practice followed by the Government of India in the other acceding Indian States, the Muslim majority, enforced its precedence in the government of the State. In a matter of a few years, other government, society and the economic organisation of the whole State was reorganized,

and the Hindus and other minorities were rapidly eliminated from all the political processes of the State, its economic organisation and property relationships and its society.

In order to perpetuate the communal majoritarianism of the Muslims in the State, the ruling Muslim elite ensured the exclusion of the Jammu and Kashmir State from the constitutional organisation of India, by virtue of Article 370, of the Indian Constitution. The Muslim ruling elite established a separate political organisation in the State, on the basis of the Muslim majority character of the population of the State, and the enforcement of the Muslim precedence in the State. The separate political organisation in the State, which was ruled by decree and ordinance for over a decade, right from 1947 to 1957 did not accept:

- i) Right to equality.
- ii) Right to equality of opportunity.
- iii) Right to protection against discrimination on the basis of religion, race, place of birth, sex or caste.
- iv) Right to legal remedies against any discrimination on grounds of religion, race, caste or place of birth and sex.
- v) Right to freedom of faith.
- vi) Right to own and manage religious endowments, religious places, religious property and religious institutions.
- vii) Right to protection against persecution, threat and inducement to conversion.
- viii) Right to the protection of minorities.

The legislature and Executive of the Government of the State exercised arbitrary powers of classification of population, affecting the rights of the minorities in almost all the spheres of the life, during the last four decades of the Indian freedom and still continue to exercise the arbitrary power.

For the last forty three years, the Hindus have, thus, borne the violation of human rights, of equality, protection against discrimination, protection against religious persecution, protection against political oppression and economic deprivation and protection due to minority community.

SECESSIONIST MOVEMENT

The Hindus and the other minorities have suffered the long, almost forty year old, secessionist Muslim movements in the State, which, in one way or the other, received the surreptitious support of the State Government. The Hindus, who formed the vanguard of the resistance against Muslim secessionism were victimized by:

- i) The secessionist forces at the social level; and,
- ii) The State Government at the political level.

The end result of the discrimination meted out to the Hindus under the cover of Article 370, by the Muslim fundamentalist and communal forces and State Government was:

- i) Complete exclusion of the Hindus in Kashmir from economic organisation of the State;
- ii) Exclusion of the Hindus from the Government and the political processes of the State;
- iii) Exclusion of the Hindus from educational institutions on the basis of religious discrimination;
- iv) Organized suppression of Hindu religion and culture;
- v) Destruction and desecration of Hindu shrines,
- vi) Emigration of about four Lakh of Hindus from Kashmir, due to economic deprivation, religious persecution and political oppression.

MUSLIM TERRORISM

Widespread violations of the human rights of the Hindu minorities have been committed with and after the onset of the terrorist violence in the State and these blatant human rights violations are going unabated. These violations are listed in two separate sets:

- i) Violation of human rights committed by the terrorist organizations and their abettors inside the State or outside the State.
- ii) Violations of human rights, for which the Government of the State and the Government of India and other instrumentalities of the Government of the State and the Government of India are responsible.

Terrorist violence in Jammu and Kashmir has several dimensions, which have direct bearing on human rights in the State.

In the first place, terrorism in Jammu and Kashmir is a process of political violence, which has specified political commitments aimed to separate the Jammu and Kashmir State from India and secure its annexation to Pakistan. It is the culmination of the Muslim struggle in pre-partition India for the homeland of Pakistan, which claimed Jammu and Kashmir on account of the Muslim majority character of its population. It is a religious crusade to complete the partition of India, which it claimed is 'incomplete' so long as Jammu and Kashmir is not merged with Pakistan. It must clearly be understood that this terrorist violence is not aimed at effecting any change in the existing political system, economic organisation or social relationships. It is neither an expression of political dissent, nor is it a political movement aimed to replace the existing political system, economic organisation or social relationships. It is neither an expression of political dissent, nor is it a political movement aimed to replace the existing sets of political instruments in the State. It has an international content as it is aimed at cutting off a part of the Indian nation and secure its annexation to the State of Pakistan.

The Muslims in Kashmir are the ruling elite of the State. They dominate its entire economic organisation and enjoy communal precedence in all social forums. Islam is virtually the official religion of the State. Whereas the Muslims constitute a little more than half the population of the State, they possess three-fourths share in legislative bodies, administrative organizations and all the local Government institutions. In the Kashmir Province, the Hindus have no elected representation in the State Legislature, nor do they have any elected representation in the local bodies. They constitute less than five percent of the administrative services of the State and have less than one percent share in the higher cadres of the State administration. Muslims monopolise 94 percent of the State services in Kashmir. The Hindus of Kashmir province have absolutely no share in the decision making clusters of the State Government, which have always been constituted by the Muslims of the Kashmir province. More than 90 percent of the admissions to professional, technical and other educational institutions are reserved for Muslims in one form or the other, purely on communal basis. The Hindus, Sikhs and other minorities share a bare 8 per cent of the educational facilities that the State provides.

The Muslims own and control the entire economic and industrial structure of the Kashmir province. They own 96 per cent of the agricultural land, orchards and other urban landed estates. They enjoy a monopoly over the entire industrial organisation, trade, commerce, financial resources and exports of the province of Kashmir. They have complete monopoly in the trading in fruits, carpets, shawls, wood work, woollens, silk etc. The Hindus in Kashmir have never been allowed to have any share in the tourist industry, the transport organisation, concessionary contracts for the construction of the State property, roads and buildings and the license for imports and exports which the State Government has lavishly distributed among the Muslims.

The political content of the terrorist violence has a direct effect on human rights as it involves militants, strategies which cannot but infringe the principles which form the basis of human rights. These strategies include:

1. liquidation of the Indian support structure in the state, involving elimination of the people of all communities, including Muslims, who constitute such support structures;
2. suppression of all political dissent and opposition by fear;
3. oppression and mental torture of people who do not support terrorism;
4. liquidation of civil population which extends help to security forces in their operations against terrorists;
5. communalisation of the society aimed to suppress opinion opposed to the secession of the State;
6. conduct of military operations by the terrorists against the security forces of the state in violation of the law of war.

The second major dimension of terrorism in Jammu and Kashmir valley is to exterminate the Hindu population in the Kashmir Valley because Hindus do not accept the secession of the State from India and its annexation to Pakistan nor do they accept to be governed by the authority which derives its sanction from the law and precedent of Islam. The Hindus have always supported accession of the State of India. They have, undeniably, formed

the most powerful support base for India in Kashmir. Hindus in the valley rose unitedly against the invasion of the State in 1947, and fought shoulder to shoulder with the Indian soldiers against the infiltrators from Pakistan in 1965. They were always in the forefront of the struggle against secessionism, communalism, fundamentalism and the various movements for annexation of the State to Pakistan.

In the present turmoil, the strategies used in the terrorist operations against the Hindus in Kashmir include;

1. The extermination of the Hindus;
2. Subjection of the Hindus to brutal torture to instil fear among them in order to achieve their submission to the terrorists and their exodus from Kashmir;
3. Flushing out such Hindus as refuse to submit to the terrorist dictates, by force, fear of death, fear of conversion and criminal assault on their women;
4. Destruction of the residential houses of the Hindus who migrate and the appropriation of their business establishments to ensure that they do not return;
5. Attachment of their landed property;
6. Destruction of the social base of the Hindus by desecration and destruction of their places of worship, shrines and temples;
7. Appropriation of the property of the Hindu shrines and their attachment to the Muslim religious endowments;
8. Declaration of a religious crusade against the Hindus.

The third and most crucial aspect of terrorism in the State is the participation of Pakistan in the terrorist violence. Pakistan has a history of sponsoring terrorist violence in its neighbouring countries including India. It is openly committed to the export of Islamic revolution to non-Muslim states and militarisation of pan-Islamic fundamentalism in South Asia. Pakistan has always used Islam as an ideological instrument for its territorial expansion. It has claimed Kashmir in the name of the Muslim nation and the unity of the

Muslims Umah. Pakistan is at present a conventional, organized and international base for the militarisation of pan-Islamic fundamentalism and Muslim terrorism in Asia. There is enough proof of the complicity of Pakistan in the terrorist activity in Jammu and Kashmir, which cannot be disregarded.

The induction of terrorism in Jammu and Kashmir by Pakistan is its third attempt to cut off Jammu and Kashmir from India and annex it to its territories. In October 1947, Pakistan sent thousands of armed forces and irregular commandos into the State to annex it. Were it not for the heroic resistance of the State troops led by the Chief of the Army Staff of the State, Brigadier Rajender Singh, who resisted the advance of invading forces till the State acceded to India and the Indian troops joined the battle, the story of the State would have been different. About thirty thousand Hindus and Sikhs were slaughtered by the invading hordes in the territories of the State overrun by them. Hundreds of thousands of them were uprooted and displaced. The story is still untold. In 1965, Pakistan inducted thousands of trained commandos in the garb of local Muslims into the State to unleash a Muslim rebellion against India. The infiltrators spread all over the valley, penetrated into Srinagar, but due to the lack of support from local Muslim population and prompt military action taken by the Government of India, the infiltrators sneaked back to Pakistan after the war broke out between the two countries.

The present terrorist violence in Jammu and Kashmir is the third attempt by Pakistan to break up India and annex Jammu and Kashmir. This time the technique of military intervention is different; the flanks of terrorist organizations are recruited from the local Muslim population and after being trained and armed in Pakistan are reinducted into the State, to carry out the Islamic crusade, Jihad, against India. Large numbers of armed commands consisting of personnel of the army and intelligence services of Pakistan, and the various troop formations raised in the occupied territories of so-called Azad Kashmir have also been inducted into the State to help the terrorist elements.

The consolidation of pan-Islamic fundamentalism in South Asia has been effectively used by Pakistan to export 'Islamic revolution' to Jammu and Kashmir. Once the Jihad or the Islamic crusade for the liberation of the State triumphs, Jammu and Kashmir will, as a part of

the fundamental unity of the Muslims, join the Muslim nation of Pakistan. That is the reason why Pakistan projected Jammu and Kashmir Liberation Front in the first phase of terrorism in Kashmir. ostensibly to create an impression that the Muslims have launched an armed struggle in the State to liberate it from India. The truth is that Jammu and Kashmir Liberation Front was sponsored by Pakistan to impart a more militant direction to the demand for plebiscite in the State. It received arms and funds from intelligence agencies of Pakistan and always acted under the instructions of the intelligence services of that country. Once the terrorist violence in the State spread, Pakistan inducted the more powerful terrorist fronts into the state, like the Hizbul Mujahidin, the militant outfit of Jamaat-I-Islami, Al Badar exclusively entrusted with the task of liquidating the Hindus, and the other terrorist organisations like Al Umar, Allah Tigers, Janbez Force, Hiizb Ullah and several other terrorist groups all committed to the secession of the State.

GENOCIDE OF HINDUS

The terrorist violence in Kashmir has involved mass massacre of the minority people of the State, destruction of their property and their genocide and also their exodus from Kashmir. The death and destruction of innocent people, genocide of minorities and conduct of a war of attrition in violation of the laws of war are crimes against humanity and international law, besides being violation of human rights. The terrorist violence in Jammu and Kashmir, on a well-designated pattern, has led to several consequences which are inextricably interlinked with the violation of human rights. The pattern in which terrorism has manifested itself in Jammu and Kashmir has several aspects, some of which are characteristically original to the political violence unleashed by the various terrorist organizations and Pakistan in Jammu and Kashmir. These aspects are:

- i) mass massacre;
- ii) genocide of Hindus and
- iii) atrocities committed by terrorists.

It is generally presumed that mass massacre involves a hundred or more political killings. Mass murder is not a precise term. It is arbitrarily defined here as something approaching "a hundred or more political deaths". In Jammu and Kashmir, terrorism has involved the liquidation of thousands of people, including the Hindus, the Muslims, the security personnel and the strategic staff of the State Government and other administrative bodies. A computation of the data on the terrorist killings from the local newspapers published from Srinagar and other townships in Kashmir reveals that the number of the people, other than Hindus, killed by the terrorists, runs into several thousands.

The main targets of terrorist violence, in Kashmir, have been-

1. The Hindus;
2. The Muslims opposed to secession, the Muslims accused by terrorists of acting as "agents of India" and 'informers' and those alleged to have spied for security forces of the state;
3. The Hindu employees of the State Government, the Hindu employees of the Government of India posted in the State, Hindu Technical staff of Government of India installations of communications, police, radio and television, Hindu technical staff of the industrial corporation and the Hindu personnel of the security organizations of the State as well as the personnel of the Central paramilitary forces deployed in the State.

The Hindus of Kashmir, among them mainly the Kashmiri Pandits, have been killed in large numbers irrespective of their age, profession and political commitments. The killings of Muslims has been specifically selective and except for a few doubtful cases most of the Muslims killed have been those who have been opposed to secession and who did not support Pakistan's claim to Jammu and Kashmir State. More notable of the Muslims who have been assassinated by terrorists include Maulana Masoodi, a veteran freedom fighter and a close associate of Sheikh Mohammad Abdullah; Maulvi Farooq, Mirwaiz of Kashmir, Mr. Mustafa, a former member of State Legislature; Pir Hissam-ud-Din Bandey and Abdul Jabbar, former ministers of the State Government; Adbul Sattar Ranjoor, General Secretary of the

Communist Party of India in the State; Mohd. Shaban, Editor, Al Saafa, an Urdu daily; Prof. Mushir-ul-Haq, Vice-Chancellor of Kashmir University; and Mohd. Din Banday, the Muslim Gujjar who reportedly gave the first information about the ingress of infiltrators from Pakistan in 1965. Among the many other Muslims killed by the terrorists are the former members of the State Legislature, National Conference and the Indian National Congress activist, and officers of the State Police.

Terrorism has taken a very heavy toll of the personnel of the security organizations of the State. Barring variations in official account of the security personnel killed and the account given by the local press as well as the figures made public by the terrorists themselves, a fairly large number of the personnel of the para-military forces and the Indian Army have been killed in the hit and run guerilla attacks mounted on them by terrorists. The attacks have involved sudden assaults on para-military pickets in civil areas, ambush of army and para-military convoys, mine blasts, rocket and bomb blasts on police stations and other security installations.

Genocide is the destruction in whole or in part of a national, ethnic, racial or religious group. The United Nations General Assembly approved a resolution on 11th December, 1946, declaring genocide a crime under International Law. A Convention on the Prevention and Punishment of Crime of Genocide adopted by the General Assembly came into effect on 12th January, 1951. The Convention proclaimed genocide as a crime against International Law. The Convention lists destruction of an ethnic, racial or a religious group as genocide. Specifically, genocide includes:

1. Killing of members of a community or a group because of their affiliations.
2. Causing bodily or mental harm to the members of a community or a group.
3. Deliberately inflicting conditions on the community or the group to bring about its physical destruction.
4. Increasing pressure to prevent births in the community or in a group.
5. Forcibly transferring children from one group to another.

The terrorist organizations in the State and those operating from Pakistan have unleashed an organized campaign to exterminate the Hindus in Kashmir. Besides the obligation to execute a religious war against them, terrorists have sought to achieve several tactical advantages in eliminating the Hindus. The Hindus used to form a vital and powerful base for India in Kashmir. They have fought the secessionist movements in the State with their bare teeth. They alone have resisted the onslaught of the pan-Islamic fundamentalism as well as the Islamisation of the Government and the society in the State. They have always been instrumental in keeping the feedback channels of the Government of India open and maintaining a regular and uninterrupted flow of information to its agencies.

The mass armed attack on the Hindus began in January, 1990, and by the onset of August, 1990 more than eight hundred of them had been murdered in cold blood. Most of the victims were innocent people who lived in poverty and persecution under the Muslim dominated constitutional organisation of the State. Among those killed were people from all sections of the society, lawyers, political activists, media men, intellectuals, shopkeepers, errand boys and men of small means.

The terrorist killings have been accompanied by torture unheard of in the annals of human history, which are tantamount to grave crimes against all ethics and against humanity. In sheer disregard of the norms of political behaviour, generally recognized by the civilized nations and now embodied in several International Covenants, the Charter of Human Rights, Declaration and Resolutions of the United Nations General Assembly, the terrorists have inflicted grievous hurt, injury and death/torture on hundreds of Hindus and other dissenters. Torture deaths have been brought about by inhuman practices described below:

1. Strangulation by using steel wires;
2. Hanging;
3. Impaling;
4. Branding with red hot irons;
5. Burning alive;
6. Lynching;
7. Draining of blood in contrived terrorist underground hospitals;

8. Gouging of eyes before assassination;
9. Slicing;
10. Dismemberment of body;
11. Breaking of limbs;
12. Drowning alive;
13. Dragging to death;
14. Slaughter.

Brij Nath Shah was kidnapped on 27th April, 1990 from his home at Sadhu Ganga, Kupwara in Kashmir. Two days later his body was found hanging by a tree. His lips had been stitched.

Sham Lal of Chiragam in Anantnag, Kashmir, was kidnapped in May 1990. The hands and the feet of the unfortunate man were chopped off and his skull battered. Sham Lal's dead body was stuffed in a sack and left on the threshold of his house, wherefrom it was recovered by his brother.

Pran Nath of Uttarsu in Anantnag District was kidnapped on 27th May, 1990. His body was founded impaled and his chest and feet nailed.

Three officials of the Life Insurance Corporation of India were kidnapped in Srinagar. They were subjected to torture and then confined in an abandoned Kashmiri Hindu Migrant house. The house was set ablaze. Two of the officials were burnt alive while the third official escaped with more than 50 per cent burns.

One Bushan Lal of Ompura in Budgam, Kashmir was kidnapped on 27th April 1990. He was tortured and then strangulated to death. His body was found the next day.

Girja, a school teacher in Bandipora, was kidnapped from the House of a Muslim colleague. The unfortunate woman, after being gang raped, was sliced on a mechanical saw.

Scores of the bodies of Hindus were recovered from River Jhelum. Most of them were drowned.

Brij Nath Koul of Hermani of Shopian, an employee of the Agricultural Department and his wife were tied to a speeding vehicle. Their mangled bodies were recovered ten kilometers away from their home.

The dead bodies of several Kashmiri Hindus were salvaged from various places in Kashmir. Their heads had been severed off.

Several dead bodies of Kashmiri Hindus were recovered which had been branded by hot iron before death. Several bodies were found with eyes gouged out.

The most dastardly and inhuman acts of terrorism were those committed in hospitals where the Hindus brought in for treatment were either allowed to die for want of treatment or brutally murdered by the doctors and others who collaborated with the terrorists. A number of cases have been reported where the injured Hindus were allowed to bleed to death.

Scores of cases have been reported where the kidnapped Hindus were drained of their blood and their lives were terminated.

Among the dead in Kashmir, the State Government is yet to disclose the identity of about four hundred dead bodies, recovered by the police and disposed of at its will. The State Government is keen to cover the anti-Hindu character of the terrorist violence and has tried to play down the massacre of Hindus. But the fact remains that most of those killed and still unidentified are Hindus. A survey of the 'migrant' population reveals that there are several hundred Kashmiri Pandits, who are missing and are presumed dead.

The worst sacrilege to which the Hindus have been subjected, and the process continues still, is that the kith and kin of the Hindus killed in Kashmir were not allowed to carry the dead bodies to Jammu for cremation according to the Hindu rites. Evidently, the cremation of Hindus in Kashmir could not be carried out according to the Hindu rites because the terrorists forbade the Hindus to accompany the dead to perform their last rites. The dead bodies of the Hindus were actually disposed of by the State Police on their own and in total disregard of the injury and hurt the cremation of the dead bodies by the State police caused to the religious feelings of the bereaved Hindu families.

EXODUS

The rising terror which consumed hundreds of innocent Hindus, the deliberate indifference of the state apparatus infested by pro-Pakistan agents and infiltrators and the failure of the Government of India to take effective and firm measures against the terrorists as well as their harbourers, particularly in the ranks of the administrative organization of the state, compelled the Hindus to flee for their lives to Jammu and beyond. By July- September, 1990 more than two lakh of Hindus had evacuated from their homes leaving their property, land, trade and business behind them. After the exodus, all the Hindu property has been looted and thousands of Hindu houses burnt down. Several Hindu shrines have also been burnt down or destroyed by explosives.

Terrorism is a negation of life, and violation of the norms of human behaviour recognized by all civilized people of the world. All value-based violence, which contravenes generally the accepted norms of social order, human behaviour and right of life and equality of all men, is retrogressive. Judgements which are based upon preferences, which violate life, equality of all men and freedom, do not have any revolutionary content. The political violence motivated by ideological commitment, whatever their value content, is necessarily retrogressive. There is no freedom which impinges upon freedom, no equality which upholds inequality. There is no life which portends death. Political terrorism, even if it is for a religious crusade, is as heinous a crime as any other crime against humanity. All political terrorism is organized crime.

Terrorist violence cannot be justified on the ground of its political and ideological motivations or value-basis. International conventions and treaties, even those pertaining to human rights, do not recognize terrorist violence as legitimate political action, arising out of any ideological or political commitments or any value basis. Commitment to separation of Jammu and Kashmir from India to further the cause of Islam and in the name of Muslim unity and brotherhood, to ensure the Muslims in the State the right to decide the future disposition of the state as envisaged by the United Nations Resolution; commitment to 'complete the partition of India' by the accession of the State to Pakistan or commitment to liberate the Muslim majority state of Jammu and Kashmir or commitment to establish a Muslim state of

Jammu and Kashmir based upon religious precept and precedence cannot legitimise and validate terrorism in Kashmir.

INTERNATIONAL LAW AND TERRORISM

There is a growing corpus of Municipal as well International Law and precedence to deal with politically motivated terrorism. The civil jurisprudence and international law generally identify political terrorism as a crime, more serious than traditional civil and international crime. Murder of innocent people, torture deaths, kidnappings, abductions and rape of women are heinous crimes which do not come within the traditional definitions of crime. Many countries have extended their penal codes to most terrorist offences. Legislation has also been undertaken to provide for special police power and special judicial procedures to deal with terrorist crime. New special anti-terrorist organizations have been created within the police departments and other international security organizations. In many states military participation in police functions has increased. Special military units for possible use in anti-terrorist operations have been created in a number of countries. All these measures have been necessary to combat terrorism and safeguard the lives of law-abiding citizens and innocent people and save states from being broken up by sponsored terrorism. Nations with long democratic traditions including the United State of America, one of the foremost super-states supporting human rights, have always demanded the adoption of severely stringent measures against political terrorism.

It is relevant to note that the United States of America proposed a set of highly stringent rules to deal with terrorism in the draft of an International Convention submitted by the United States Government to the adhoc committee of the United Nations on international terrorism in 1973.

Understandably, most of the Muslim States disapproved of the Convention.

The United Nations lists killings, kidnappings, torture and abduction as a crime. According to resolutions of the General Assembly of the United Nations on measures to prevent terrorism, the United Nations General Assembly –

1. Unequivocally condemns as criminal all acts, methods and practices of terrorism wherever and by whoever committed including those who jeopardize the friendly relations between states.
2. Deeply deplores the loss of innocent human lives which results from such acts of terrorism.
3. Further deplores the pernicious impact of acts of international terrorism, on existing international Conventions relating to various aspects of international terrorism.
4. Appeals to all states that have not yet done so to consider becoming party to the existing International Conventions relating to various aspects of international terrorism.
5. Invites all states to take all appropriate measures at the National level with a view to the speedy and effective elimination of the problem of international terrorism such as the harmonization of domestic legislation with existing International Conventions, the fulfillment of assumed international obligations, and the prevention of the preparation and organisation in their respective territories of acts directed against the States.
6. Calls upon all states to fulfill their obligations under International Law to refrain from organizing, instigating, assisting or participating in terrorist acts in other states, or acquiescing in activities within their territory directed towards the commission of such acts.
7. Urges all states not to allow, in any circumstances, to obstruct the applications of appropriate law enforcement measures, provided for in the relevant conventions to which they are party, to persons who commit acts of international terrorism covered by those conventions.
8. Further urges all states to cooperate with one another more closely, especially through the exchange of relevant information concerning the prevention and combating of terrorism, apprehension and prevention or extradition of the perpetrators of such acts, or the incorporation into appropriate bilateral

treaties of special clause, in particular, regarding the extradition or prosecution of terrorists.

The Security Council adopted a Resolution on 18th December, 1985 urging upon all the States to undertake appropriate measures to bring to an end hostage taking, abduction and other forms of terrorism. In the operative part of the Resolution, the Security Council-

1. condemned unequivocally all acts of hostage-taking and abduction;
2. called for the immediate safe release of all hostages and abducted persons wherever and by whoever they are being held;
3. affirmed the obligation of all States in whose territory hostages of abducted persons were held, urgently to take all appropriate measure to secure their safe release and to prevent the commission of acts of hostage-taking and abduction in future;
4. urged the further development of international cooperation among States in devising and adopting effective measures which were in accordance with the rules of International Law to facilitate the prevention, prosecution and punishment of all acts of hostage-taking and abducting as manifestation of international terrorism.

A number of other resolutions and conventions of the United Nations General Assembly and the Security Council, the Adhoc Committee on International Terrorism, various reports of the Secretary General of the United Nations and the Covenants of various inter-state organizations on political and international terrorism, have urged the members of the international community to undertake stringent and effective legal and administrative measures to combat terrorism. The recommendations envisage the institution of fresh political instruments and modified penal procedures to check terrorism. The Council of Europe produced a Convention on terrorism in 1977, which stipulated that amnesty available to political offences should not apply to terrorist violence associated with all forms of terrorist

acts, assassinations bomb outrages, rocket attacks and killings by other explosive devices, kidnapping, taking of hostages, hijacking and such other offences.

The Muslim terrorist crusade in Jammu and Kashmir is aimed to:

- a) Merge the state into the Muslim nation of Pakistan on the basis of its Muslim majority;
- b) Convert it into Muslim State, governed in accordance with the religious precepts of Islam; and
- c) Restrict human rights of all ethnic and religious minorities within the injunctions of the Muslim State.

The crusade is a negation of human rights. All religious crusades which seek to establish religious precedence including the Muslim Jihad and the militarisation of the pan-Islamic fundamentalism violate the Declaration of Human Rights. The rights envisaged by Declaration of Human Rights are irreconcilable to all political regimes which are based upon religious precept and precedence. Fundamental Rights including human rights conflict with restricted citizenship and all forms of religious protectorate.

The Declaration of Human Rights does not underline the guarantees against civil jurisdiction alone. The human rights are fundamental rights; they are also civil rights. The protection envisaged by human rights imposes a limitation on the arbitrary exercise of State power; it also imposes a limitation on the exercise of authority by all regimes including instruments of social control, private citizens, foreign States and international organisations. The terrorist organizations of the State, the Muslim crusade for a second partition of India and the State of Pakistan cannot escape the liability for the violation of human rights in the Jammu and Kashmir State.

The responsibility of violation of human rights in the Jammu and Kashmir State rests upon:

1. all the terrorist organizations in the State;
2. the Muslim organizations and the paramilitary outfits which aid and support terrorism;
3. the political regime in the part of Jammu and Kashmir occupied by Pakistan; and

4. the State of Pakistan.

Political terrorism is condemned by the United Nations as a crime against the rights of man. Terrorist killings, kidnapping, torture, hostage-taking, abduction are listed as grave crimes against humanity. The General Assembly denounces all acts of terrorism, which endanger or take innocent lives, jeopardize fundamental freedoms and impair the dignity of human beings.

FAILURE OF THE INDIAN STATE

The Jammu and Kashmir Government and the Government of India have failed to take adequate and necessary measures to suppress terrorism in the State. In spite of the increasing terrorist violence during the fall of 1989, the State Government stubbornly refused to take any action against the growing terrorist menace. During 1989, sixteen hundred violent incidents including 351 bomb blasts took place in the Kashmir Province. During the first eighteen days of January 1990, 319 violent incidents, 21 armed attacks, 114 bomb blasts and 112 acts of arson and 12 outbreaks of mob violence took place in the State. The Government reaction to the terrorist violence is reflected by the fact that when Shabir Ahmed Shah, a militant leader was arrested in September 1989, the Deputy Commissioner refused to sign the warrant of detention; later on the Deputy Commissioner of the District Anantnag, to which Shah belonged, also refused to sign the warrant. The treachery against the Human Rights did not end there. The Advocate General did not appear before the Court to represent the case, shifting his responsibility to the Additional Advocate General and the Government Counsel. They refused to appear before the Court.

The terrorist violence spread death, and hundreds of innocent Hindus were mowed down by the terrorists' bullets but none of the high officials of the State Government was brought to book for having abetted the terrorist assault on human rights.

STATE'S INACTION

The State Government and the Government of India have an obligation, under the Universal Declaration of Human Rights, the various International Conventions and the United Nations Resolution, to deal firmly with terrorist violence. Neither the State Government which is vested with the powers to maintain law and order in the State in the Indian federal

division of powers, nor the Union Government which assumed all powers of the administration to itself in consequence of the promulgation of President's rule in the State, adopted any of the measures mentioned above to deal firmly with the terrorist violence. Terrorist crime is still dealt with as an ordinary crime. Trial procedures have not been changed to meet the threat of crimes committed by the terrorists: no special anti-terrorist organizations have been instituted within the police department or within the security structures of the State.

TADA is a farce. None of the existing penal laws and procedures have been amended to cover crime committed outside the State and reach the training nests in Pakistan and no special organisation has been established at the national level to coordinate national efforts against terrorists. Both the State Government and the Union Government have not opted for military participation in police functions nor have any special military units, for possible use in dealing with the terrorists, been constituted. No special powers except those provided to deal with the extraordinary situation of terrorist violence, have been vested with the security forces and no security organisation has been empowered to take any pre-emptive action against terrorist violence, so much so that the police force is empowered to fire only when they are attacked, leaving the initiative of surprise with the terrorists. All this is being done in spite of the internationally recognized obligation to change the existing penal law and procedures to meet the terrorist threat.

Thousands of innocent lives could have been saved, if the State and the Union Government had taken adequate measures which the world community and the civilized nations have adopted to deal with the political terrorism.

The local newspapers are a testimony to the death and destruction of Hindus and other innocent civilians who have been victimized by the various terrorist flanks and who could be saved if powers were given to the security forces to take pre-emptive action. Thousands of innocent lives have been taken by the terrorists and lakhs of Hindus have been uprooted from their homes. They are languishing in refugee camps in Jammu and other parts of India. Their right to life, their homes and their freedom is as sacrosanct as any other human right listed in the Universal Declaration of Human Rights.

The State Government and the Government of India are responsible for the violation of the human rights of the Hindus in Kashmir on the following counts:

- i) abetting in terrorist violence.
- ii) refusal to give the Hindus protection against the threat to life.
- iii) refusal to protect their property.
- iv) refusal to protect their religious shrines.
- v) exclusion of the Hindus in exile from all employment in the administrative organisation of the State;
- vi) exclusion of the Hindus in the exile from all economic opportunities;
- vii) exclusion of the Hindus in exile from all educational institutions;
- viii) refusal to provide the Hindus in exile social and cultural protection.

-For and on behalf of Seven lakh Kashmiri Hindus:

(Ashwani Kumar Chrungoo)
Convener
Panun Kashmir Movement(PKM)

(Dr. Mohan Krishan Teng)
Co-Chairman
Human Rights Committee
For Minorities in Kashmir

(Sh. D.N. Munshi)
President
All India Kashmiri Samaj

(Sh. H.N. Nehru)
Ex. President
Kashmiri Samiti, Delhi.

(Sh. C.L. Gadoo)
President
Kashmiri Samiti, Delhi

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APPENDIX - II

MEMORANDUM SUBMITTED TO

National Human Rights Commission
on its Visit to Jammu on 7th of June, 1994.

It is submitted for the consideration of the Honourable members of the National Human Rights Commission, that an elaborate memorandum was presented to the Commission at Delhi on 07 March, 1994, on behalf of the Hindus of Kashmir, inviting the attention of the Commission to the human rights violations suffered by them. The signatories to the memorandum represented the Joint Human Rights Committee on Minorities in Kashmir, All India Kashmiri Samaj, the Kashmir Samiti, Delhi and Panun Kashmir Movement(PKM), Jammu. The signatories prayed to the Commission for the registration of the Memorandum under section 12 of the Protection of Human Rights Act 1993.

The signatories to the Memorandum also prayed that the Commission do, within the broad framework of the issues raised in the memorandum, investigate into the violation of the human rights of Hindu minorities in Kashmir and negligence in the prevention of such violation and by public servants and the institutions of the government and the acts of terrorism that inhibit the enjoyment of human rights.

We would like to submit the following for the consideration of the Commission, on its visit to Kashmir and Jammu.

1. Terrorism in Jammu and Kashmir is a process of political violence, which has specific political commitments aimed to separate Jammu and Kashmir from India and annex it to Pakistan. Terrorist violence in Kashmir is a religious crusade, to force a second partition on India, which the terrorist organizations operating in the State and Pakistan, the principal base of all terrorist forces in Kashmir, believe is necessary for the merger of the State with Pakistan. The terrorist violence, therefore, does not portend any change in the existing political system or economic organization of the State. It is not an expression of political dissent, nor is

it aimed to substitute the political instruments in the State. It has a well-defined charter in so far as it seeks to :

- (i) Islamise the state and
- (ii) In order to achieve Islamisation, separate the state from the secular, political and social organization of India and integrate it with the Islamic State of Pakistan.

The terrorist organizations in Kashmir, their abettors and supporters in the state, the mercenary Mujahids, the crusaders from other Muslim countries, operating in the state and the state of Pakistan, have established a full fledged terrorist regime in the State. The regime exacts acceptance of its orders at the point of the gun, and exercises power, without any accountability to any rule and law. The terrorist regime in Kashmir is not accountable in any measure to any national or international judgment.

It is a pirate regime, which exercises power without any responsibility and any accountability. All international terrorism is an organized crime and the attention of the Commission is invoked to enquire into the death and devastation the Hindu minority of Kashmir has suffered, on account of the organized crimes committed by the terrorist regime in Jammu and Kashmir.

The terrorist violence unleashed in Kashmir by the terrorist organizations, their supporters and the foreign mercenaries and the State of Pakistan, is a violation of human rights. The Muslim crusade which seeks to exterminate the religious and ethnic minorities in Jammu and Kashmir and establish the primacy of Islam in the State and society of Jammu and Kashmir, contravenes the basic principles of equality, freedom and due process of law which underline the Universal Declaration of Human Rights, the United Nations Covenants of Human Rights and the Charter of the United Nations. Terrorism, whatever its ideology and objectives, is a crime against humanity, it is a crime against international law and a crime against the Universal Declaration of Human Rights.

United Nations General Assembly in its resolution :

- (i) Unequivocally condemns as criminal all acts, methods and practices of terrorism, wherever and by whoever committed, including those, which jeopardize the friendly relations between the States;
- (ii) Deeply deplores the loss of innocent human lives which results from such acts of terrorism;
- (iii) Further deplores the pernicious impact of acts of international terrorism on relations and cooperation among States including cooperation for development;
- (iv) Appeals to all States, that have not yet done so, to consider becoming party to the existing international conventions, relating to various aspects of international terrorism;
- (v) Invites all States to take all appropriate measures at the national level with a view to the speedy and final elimination of the problem of international terrorism such as the harmonization of domestic legislation with existing international conventions, the fulfilment of assured international obligation, and the prevention of the preparation and organization in their respective territories, of acts directed against the States;
- (vi) Calls upon all states to fulfill their obligation under International Law to refrain from organizing, instigating, assisting or participating in terrorist acts in other states, or acquiescing in activities within their territory directed towards the commission of such acts.

2. The Hindus in Kashmir, an ethnic minority, have been subjected to grave human rights violations. The violations have been committed by the terrorists and individuals and organizations abetting in terrorism, and also committed by the State.

The human rights violations committed by the terrorists and the individuals and organizations abetting in terrorism are listed below:

(a) GENOCIDE OF HINDUS

Genocide is the destruction in whole or in part of a national, ethnic, racial or religious group. The United Nations General Assembly approved a resolution on 11th December, 1946, declaring genocide a crime under International Law. A Convention on the Prevention and Punishment of Crime of Genocide adopted by the General Assembly came into effect on 12th January, 1951. The Convention proclaims genocide as a crime against International Law. The Convention lists destruction of an ethnic, racial or religious group as genocide. Specifically, genocide includes:

1. Killing members of a community or a group because of their affiliations;
2. Causing bodily or mental harm to the members of a community or a group.
3. Deliberately inflicting conditions on the community or the group to bring about its physical destruction;
4. Imposing measures to prevent births in the community or the group.
5. Forcibly transferring children from one group to another.

The terrorist organizations in the State and those operating from Pakistan have unleashed an organized campaign to exterminate the Hindus in Kashmir.

The mass attack on the Hindus began in January, 1990, and by the onset of August 1990 more than eight hundred of them had been murdered in cold blood. Most of the victims were innocent people who lived in poverty and persecution under the Muslim dominated constitutional organization of the State. Among those killed were people from all sections of the society, lawyers, political activists, media men, intellectuals, shopkeepers and men of small means. The genocide of Hindus continues still and by now more than a thousand Hindus have been liquidated.

(b) TORTURE DEATHS

The terrorist killings have been accompanied by torture unheard of in the annals of human history, which are tantamount to grave crimes against all law and against humanity. In sheer disregard of the norms of political behaviour, generally recognized by civilized nations and now embodied in several International Conventions, the Charter of Human Rights, Declaration and Resolutions of the United Nations General Assembly, the terrorists have inflicted grievous hurt, injury and death/torture on hundreds of Hindus and other dissenters. Torture deaths have been brought about by inhuman practices described below:-

1. Strangulation by using steel wires;
2. Hanging;
3. Impaling;
4. Branding with red hot irons;
5. Burning alive;
6. Lynching;
7. Draining of blood in contrived terrorist underground hospitals;
8. Gouging of eyes before assassination;
9. Slicing;
10. Dismemberment of body;
11. Breaking of limbs;
12. Drowning alive;
13. Dragging to death;
14. Slaughter.

Brij Nath Shah was kidnapped on 27-04-1990 from his home at Sadhu Ganga, Kupwara, in Kashmir. Two days later his body was found hanging by a tree. His lips had been stitched.

Sham Lal of Charigam in Anantnag, Kashmir, was kidnapped in May, 1990. The hands and the feet of unfortunate man were chopped off and skull battered. Sham Lal's dead body was stuffed in a sack and left on the threshold of his house, wherefrom it was recovered by his brother.

Pran Nath of Uttarsu in Anantnag district was kidnapped on 27-05-1990. His body was found impaled, his chest and feet nailed.

Three officials of the Life Insurance Corporation of India were kidnapped in Srinagar. They were subjected to torture and then confined in an abandoned Kashmiri 'migrant' Hindu house. The house was set ablaze. Two of the officials were burnt alive while the third official escaped with more than 50% burns.

Bhushan Lal of Ompora in Budgam Kashmir was kidnapped on 27-04-1990. He was tortured and then strangled to death. His body was found next day.

Girija, a school teacher at Bandipora, was kidnapped from the house of Muslim colleague. The unfortunate woman, after being gang-raped was sliced on a mechanical saw.

Scores of bodies of Hindus were recovered from River Jehlum. Most of them were drowned. Many of them were never identified.

Brij Nath Kaul of Hermani of Shopian, an employee of the Agriculture Department and his wife were tied to a speeding vehicle. Their mangled bodies were recovered ten kilometers away from their home.

The dead bodies of several Kashmiri Hindus were salvaged from various places in Kashmir. Their heads had been severed off.

Several dead bodies of Kashmiri Hindus were recovered which had been branded by hot irons before death. Several bodies were found with eyes gouged out.

The most dastardly and inhuman acts of terrorism were those committed in hospitals where Hindus brought in for treatment were either allowed to die for want of treatment or brutally murdered by the doctors and others who collaborated with the terrorists. A number of cases have been reported where injured Hindus were allowed to bleed to death. Scores of such cases have been reported where kidnapped Hindus were drained off their blood and their lives were terminated.

(c) ETHNIC CLEANSING OF HINDUS

The ethnic cleansing of the Hindus from Kashmir has been carried out in accordance with a well-designed plan. The objectives of the mass-massacre of the Hindus in Kashmir, which began with the onset of Muslim Jihad for the liberation of the State from India as well as the organized plan, to flush out the Hindu minority from Kashmir have been to rid the valley and of the Muslim majority districts of the Jammu province, from the Hindus and other religious minorities. While ethnic extermination of the Hindus of Kashmir is in its final phase, the ethnic extermination of Hindus from the Muslim majority districts of Jammu province has started now. Several strategies were adopted to drive out the Hindus from Kashmir. Hundreds of hit-lists were circulated in major towns of Kashmir valley including Srinagar, which carried the names of Hindus marked for assassination by various terrorist organizations. The hit-lists were published in local news papers or displayed on wall posters or dispatched to the homes of the victims. Rumours were spread about the deep involvement of the Hindus in espionage work for the Government of India and hundreds of them were branded the "Mukhbirs" or informers and as a matter of course condemned to death for their 'anti-Muslim' activities.

The instinctive reaction of the Hindus, condemned to die, was to leave their homes, in most cases with their families, and take refuge in Jammu. Followed by shadows of death, most of the fugitives left for Jammu in the darkness of night or early hours of morning. A few

of them could collect and carry with them their belongings and household goods. Those, who ignored warnings, paid with their lives. As the random killings of Hindus increased, particularly towards the close of 1989, and many more Hindus were put on condemned lists, their exodus assumed wide-spread proportions. In January 1990, an organized campaign was launched to pressurize the Hindus to leave Kashmir. Notices were published in local daily Urdu news papers, warnings in local dailies were accompanied by broadcasts from public address systems, from Muslim mosques, urging Hindus to take heed and quit Kashmir or else face death as traitors to the cause of freedom of Muslims of the State. On 19-01-1990, masses of Muslims came out on the streets. In mad frenzy, they attacked everything on way, the police posts, public buildings, telephone and telegraph installations etc. Hordes of howling desperados entered the Hindu houses and ordered the men to fall out and join the demonstrations. In clashes with Central Reserve Police, two Kashmiri Pandits, who had been pushed to the front, were killed in return fire.

The total break-down of law and order machinery in the province had a devastating effect on the minorities. Finding them defenceless, the terrorist organizations re-doubled their pressure on Hindus to quit the valley. In rural areas, the terrorist organizations expected the sparsely scattered Hindu families to accept conversion to Islam and at numerous places Hindu families were overtly and covertly invited to join the Muslim fold. The whole security structure, which was dominantly Muslim, quietly withdrew. Quite a large number of Police Organisations were clandestinely working for the terrorists. Wherever the Hindus approached the Police posts, they were treated with scorn, in many cases abused and sent away. The break-down of the State machinery was a straight signal to Hindus to fend for their safety. Evidently, they were hardly equipped to face the automatic machine-guns the terrorists wielded in a situation where the Government of the State as well as the Government of India had abdicated from their rightful function of providing security of life. Many families, some of them because of their landed estates and other assets and some of them because of their sheer resourcelessness, waited to avoid migration but as the intensity of assault on them increased, they were swept away in most cases, unable to retrieve any of their belongings. The exodus of Hindus is still in progress. In April 1994, four Hindu families belonging to village

Salar in district Anantnag of Kashmir were forced to migrate to Jammu. One of the members of the families was shot dead and another abducted. The women folk were subjected to criminal assault.

(d) DEMOLITION OF TEMPLES

One hundred and two temples have been demolished, burnt down and subjected to acts of incendiarism during the last five years. The temple lands have been usurped and buildings and other structures on such lands burnt down. Quite a large number of temples have been desecrated. Mata Kheer Bhawani Temple, the famous temple of Bhawani at Tulamula, was twice subjected to rocket attacks. A highly derogatory tirade continues against Hindu religion, which is tantamount to hurt the religious feelings of Hindus in Kashmir.

(e) LOOT AND DESTRUCTION OF PROPERTY

For the last five years about 16000 houses, belonging to Hindus have been burnt down. The loot and destruction of Hindu houses is continuing even at this time. The properties, household goods left behind by Hindus have been looted. In many cases houses, business establishments, land, orchards etc. have been taken over by the Muslims.

3. HUMAN RIGHTS VIOLATION BY THE STATE

The State of India is a signatory to the Universal Declaration of Human Rights, United Nations Covenants of Human Rights and the Charter of United Nations. The State of India is also bound by the Convention of Prevention and Punishment of Crime of Genocide adopted by United Nations General Assembly in 1948, and the Resolution of United Nations General Assembly and the Security Council on the Protection of Human Rights against International Terrorism adopted in 1986 and 1987. The Universal Declaration, the Covenants on Human Rights, the Convention on Prevention of Genocide and the United Nations' resolutions impose an obligation on members of the International Community to protect human rights of all people. These international instruments impose an obligation on the State

of India also to safeguard and protect human rights from violation, including violation of human rights by international terrorism.

The State of India has not only failed to fulfil its international obligations in protecting the life, liberty, property and religious sanctity of Hindu minority in Kashmir, but it has, with willful intent acted in a manner, which has grossly violated their rights. The violations committed by Government of India, Government of Jammu and Kashmir and the administrative organization and instrumentalities of the Government of Jammu and Kashmir are listed below: -

i) Wilful default to provide security

The State of India, the Government of India and the Government of Jammu and Kashmir are responsible for: -

- a) The wilful default to provide protection against assault of terrorists on Hindu minorities in Kashmir and to carry members of the minority to places of safety;
- b) The wilful default to provide security to Hindus against assault, abduction and assault on women;
- c) The wilful default in protecting religious places of Hindus from demolition and desecration;
- d) The wilful default in protecting the houses and property of Hindus from loot and incendiarism.

ii) Wilful default to provide help

The State of India, Government of India, Government of Jammu and Kashmir are responsible for: -

- e) The denial to provide adequate accommodation, sanitary facilities and drinking water to Hindu refugees in their exile;

- f) Denial to provide adequate relief to refugees in consonance with the international standards of relief for refugees;
- g) Denial to provide healthcare facilities to refugees housed in tents which have not been replaced for the last five years.

iii) **Discrimination**

The Government of Jammu and Kashmir has practised gross discrimination with regard to Hindu refugees:

- a) A large number of Hindu employees working on temporary and work charge basis in state Government and employees including Hindu teachers of Kashmir University have been pushed out of their service as a result of migration from Kashmir, on flimsy pretexts. The employees working on temporary basis in Government corporations funded by Government, and the University of Kashmir, were denied leave salary on flimsy pretexts that the temporary staff did not have any right to leave and their services could not but be terminated. Hindus who had worked for years in their respective organizations on temporary basis, were deprived of their employment and thrown on the charity of the world. Several teachers of postgraduate departments of Kashmir University, who had been in service of the University for as long as four years, were put on the road-side. As against them, their Muslim counterparts did not only retain their jobs, but most of them were confirmed on permanent basis.
- b) The student community of Hindu refugees, mainly accommodated in camps in Jammu, has been segregated into a separate class of "Apartheid" and while the students have been refused admission in Government schools and colleges in Jammu, a separate structure of camp schools, camp colleges and camp postgraduate departments has been established for their education. The camp schools are without any infrastructure and are run in tents and lack teaching facilities, library and laboratory facilities, and also class-room accommodation.
- c) A virtual moratorium has been placed on employment of the refugees to Government services of the state. Their applications are either not accepted and if any applications

are accepted, they are rejected on the ground that the refugees are not entitled to consideration for employment of services of the State because they do not reside in Kashmir province, where alone they can make any claim to employment. During the last four years, the recruitment of the refugees to government services has been negligible. Wherever any appointments have been made, they have been rendered infructuous by deliberately posting the Hindu refugees in regions of Kashmir valley, heavily infested with terrorist activities. The design has been to intentionally keep out Hindu refugees from the services of the State; and in this whole process, the bitterest enemies of India and the government servants of Jammu and Kashmir are involved.

- d) The Hindu refugee students are denied admissions to technical training institutions, medical colleges, engineering colleges and institutions of higher education and the universities in the State;
- e) The Hindu refugees are denied:
 - (i) Right to equality;
 - (ii) Right to protection against discrimination on the basis of religion;
 - (iii) Right to claim redress under due process of law for the discrimination to which the administration of Jammu & Kashmir State and its instrumentalities have subjected him;
 - (iv) Right to redress against wrongs suffered by Hindu refugees on account of terrorism; death and disability.
- (f) The Government of the State have left the temples and religious places of minorities in Kashmir unprotected;
- (g) The bodies of Hindus killed in terrorist violence during last four years, have not been allowed to be brought to Jammu by order of the Government of Jammu and Kashmir and in the absence of their kith and kin bodies of the Hindu victims have been cremated by the police personnel without performing religious rites and also without knowledge of their kith and kin.

4. We submit for consideration of National Human Rights Commission that the Commission may inquire and investigate into Human Rights violations to which Hindus in Kashmir have been subjected and fix responsibilities of State Government and Government of India for such human rights violations in accordance with Section 12 of the Protection of Human Rights Act of 1993.

We also submit for the consideration of National Human Rights Commission to issue mandatory instructions to Jammu and Kashmir Government in accordance with section 12 clauses (d) and (e) ;

- (v) To provide to Hindu refugees relief, accommodation, health-care, according to standard norms, recognized for relief of refugees as per International Convention, International Law, United Nations Resolutions for the relief of refugees and the law present in India;
- (vi) To reinstate and confirm all Hindu employees of State government, Corporate bodies funded by the State and the University of Kashmir, who were working on temporary/adhoc/work-charge basis, at the time of exodus of the Hindus, and who have been thrown out of employment, against all rules and justice;
- (vii) To put an end to "Apartheid", segregation of Hindu refugee students;
- (viii) To reserve 30% of employment in services of State in general and in Kashmir in particular for Hindu refugees so long as they are in exile;
- (ix) To bring to an end discrimination to which Hindu refugees are being subjected to by the State government and provide Human Rights safe-guards for protection of Hindu refugees from any further discrimination on the basis of religion;
- (x) To establish human rights instrumentalities to ensure the implementation of due process of law to protect rights of Hindu refugees;

- (xi) Provide protection to temples, shrines, religious places and property belonging to the Hindu minorities in Kashmir, left behind by them.

Thanking you,

(Ashwani Kumar Chrungoo)

Convener

PANUN KASHMIR MOVEMENT (PKM)

(Dr. M.K. Teng)

Co-Chairman

**Joint Human Rights Committee for
Minorities in Kashmir**

APPENDIX - III

Dated 05-10-95

Memorandum For Submission To
The National Human Rights Commission, New Delhi.

PANUN KASHMIR MOVEMENT(PKM) submits its third memorandum in continuation of its previous submissions made on 7th March, 1994 at New Delhi and 7th June, 1994 at Jammu.

During the course of last one and a half years, several letters stand submitted to the National Human Rights Commission, New Delhi from this organisation to elicit the reply on the issue of human rights violations of Kashmiri Hindu Displaced Community. Subsequently, National Human Rights Commission vide its letter No. 9/58/94-BL/NHRC dated 22nd June, 1995 informed that the Jammu & Kashmir Government has been directed to send the report on specific points and Chairperson of the Commission has written to the Governor of J&K State to expedite the submission of these reports. Accordingly, a request was made to the Commission by us vide our letter no. PKM/95-36 dated 03-07-1995 pertaining to the specific point which we would have liked to know, keeping in view the urgency and importance of the matter. Till date the Commission has chosen to keep silent in this regard resulting in keeping us ignorant about the matter. As we are gravely aggrieved, we have high expectations from the Commission to keep us well informed about our case. We also hold that it is our right to know about the present status of the submission made by us.

The enquiry into several areas listed in our previous memoranda, in which Panun Kashmir Movement(PKM) has invoked intervention of the Commission and its active consideration, has become a slower process for reasons not known to us. Discrimination has become a fact of life for the minority community of Kashmiri Hindus in the J&K State creating a separate and specific set of human rights violations for this Community. It shall not be out of place to mention that the genocide and extermination of this Community from its habitat is a continuous process for the last six years of turmoil in this region. The forces of terrorism, Islamic fundamentalism and separatism are involved in the war of attrition resulting

in catastrophic dimensions having direct bearing on the fate and the future of our community. Lately, a member of Kashmiri Hindu Community has been killed at Wanpoh (Distt. Anantnag) and some families amongst the left-over and trapped members of Hindu minority community have also been forced to leave for Jammu for safety. Enclosed please find photocopy of the press report dated 29th Sept. 1995 for your information. Our shrines, places of worship and private properties are continuously being vandalised and destroyed in the valley, the reports of which do appear in the local and national media.

We want to remind the NHRC once again about the obligations of the State of India under the United Nations Charter, the Universal Declaration of Human Rights, the United Nations Covenants of Human Rights, Convention on the Prevention of Genocide and the Constitution and legal precedence of the law of the land. All the same going by the procedure adopted by NHRC, the stipulated time-frame to enquire into specified issues seem to have taken a back-seat in our case in view of the long drag since 7th March, 1994. Should the entire aggrieved community living in exile in sub-human conditions and uncertainty be kept hostage to the convenience and discretion of the Government and/or the authority. We fail to understand why shouldn't the NHRC proceed to enquire on its own, because of the inordinate delay, in pursuance of the powers vested in the Commission vide proviso (a) of sub-section (i) of Section 17 of the Protection of Human Rights Act 1993.

We request that the Commission may consider to fix a time-frame for finalisation of its findings/report and keep us informed about the latest developments of the case. We would also request the Commission to fix responsibilities in regard to human rights violations committed against us, review the factors that inhibit to enjoy human rights and recommend appropriate remedial measures to redress the wrongs and humiliations suffered by the Kashmiri Hindu Displaced Community.

(Ashwani Kumar Chrungoo)

Convener

Panun Kashmir Movement(PKM)

Add. For Comm.

Sh. S. Raina, 232-C, Ram Vihar,
Old Janipura, Jammu-180007.

HT DIARY
Rights & Wrongs

The National Human Rights Commission has been finding itself called upon to play enlarging role in the current situation. More than five years after the start of the militant violence in Kashmir, the Commission has been receiving a number of cases and complaints involving the human rights violations there. This week, the Panun Kashmir Movement(PKM) presented a pile of documents to the NHRC listing the violations of human rights through acts of terrorism. The documents list the social and psychological trauma their community has been put through as a result of these happenings.

The PKM also took up with the Commission matters regarding instances of alleged bias and discrimination demonstrated by the State apparatus. This concerned cases of promotions, transfers and education of children. Describing the National Human Rights Commission as 'a sacred product of an Act of Parliament', it underlined the high expectations the affected people had from the NHRC.

-The Hindustan Times, New Delhi, December 22, 1995

THE HINDUSTAN TIMES, NEW DELHI,
SATURDAY, JANUARY 27, 1996

STATE'S VICTIMS TOO
(EDITORIAL)

The comprehensive report on human rights violations of the minority community in Kashmir during the past six years, which was formally released in the Capital last Tuesday, presents a serious indictment not just of the terrorist elements in the Valley but also the discriminations practised by the State. The report which is fourth in the series of memoranda presented by the Panun Kashmir Movement(PKM) to the National Human Rights

Commission between March 7, 1994 and December 20, 1995, lists hundreds of communally targeted cases of murder, arson, loot and rape. Though several of these cases had been reported in the media off and on, it is for the first time that they have been documented in such detail. The total picture emerging from the report indicates how a whole community's basic rights to life and livelihood had been threatened under what looks like a meticulously devised game plan. It is perhaps a sad reflection on the manner in which the human rights group functions in this country that a large number of these violations seem to have passed them by, or possibly, have been deliberately ignored.

The most damning part of the report, however, is not about the atrocities committed by the terrorist groups but some of the policies practised by the State administration. The administration having itself assessed loss to property incurred by the affected people, followed it up by making relief payments at rates that varied vastly from person to person, displaying blatant communal bias. The victims belonging to the community were paid relief at rates as low as fifty per cent of the assessed amount while the State's majority community assessees were compensated to the tune of 200 per cent and above. Much more than the money paid by way of relief was involved here. It exposes the State administration to the charge of discrimination on the basis of religion as well as violation of the constitutional guarantee of equality before law. It is amazing how such gross violations of the fundamentals of a secular and democratic State could have escaped the notice of the successive Governors, and even the Union Home Ministry. Urgent correction of such aberrant policies is called for in order to restore confidence of all sections of the population in the justness of the State administration. The very fact that there had been so little effort at self-correction by the State so far placed an additional burden on the National Human Rights Commission which had been approached for relief by the PKM on behalf of the affected population.

**URGENT FAX MESSAGE FOR HON'BLE CHAIRMAN,
NATIONAL HUMAN RIGHTS COMMISSION (NHRC), NEW DELHI
(CONFIDENTIAL)
19.02.1996**

In consequence of discussions held by the representatives of Panun Kashmir Movement(PKM) with the Hon'ble Chairman and members of the National Human Rights Commission (NHRC) on February 13, 1996 at New Delhi, we submit hereunder an interim list of priority measures concerning relief, that is called for by the Commission:-

1. An amount of Rupees one Lakh as incentive in favour of all displaced Kashmiri Hindu traders, agriculturists, orchardists, contractors and self employed professionals besides interest free loan of Rs. 1.00 lakh repayable in 72 easy instalments be sanctioned forthwith for each establishment.
2. Cash relief assistance to the relief holders be doubled and linked with quarterly based cost of living index which should be affected from next financial year.
3. Sanction of house rent @ Rs.1000/ per month to each non-camp displaced Kashmiri Hindu family presently living on rental accommodation be effected.
4. The J&K Govt. Order No. 362-GAD, dated 29-04-1992 in regard to promotion of employees who have been displaced from Kashmir valley be withdrawn forthwith. Promotion be effected without prejudice to and insistence on experience, submission of research papers or conduct of research etc. Other allowances payable to the State Government employees withheld in case of displaced employees be released retrospectively including arrears.
5. A large chunk of Kashmiri Hindus of State/Central establishments stands retired during the last six years. All the same there is no visible employment of Kashmiri Pandits throughout this period. A special recruitment drive be launched in case of educated Kashmiri Hindu youth at least to reach the employment level of Hindus of the Valley in 1989.

6. Fifty percent amount with-held by way of ex-gratia relief already sanctioned in favour of the fire sufferers by the State government, be released forthwith pending review of all such cases. Meanwhile, a caretaker be appointed by the Government to look after the properties left over in the valley.
7. An autonomous educational structure be established forthwith for education of the displaced Kashmiri Hindu students. The displaced students be compensated by payment Rs.1.00 lakh for loss of each academic year or part thereof caused due to delayed announcements of results and failure to conduct examination/results in time.

This interim package is sought without any prejudice to para-4 of the fourth memorandum dated December 20, 1995 contained in part-I of the REPORT (Volume-I) submitted by PANUN KASHMIR MOVEMENT(PKM) to NATIONAL HUMAN RIGHTS COMMISSION (NHRC) at its office in New Delhi under the signatures of Ashwani Kumar Chrungoo (Convener) , B.L.Kaul, S.Raina, S.Krishan Kaul and Vijay Handoo.

Message from :

(Ashwani Kumar Chrungoo)
Convener
PANUN KASHMIR MOVEMENT (PKM)
Central Camp Office: Jammu.

**NATIONAL HUMAN RIGHTS COMMISSION
SARDAR PATEL BHAVAN, NEW DELHI**

Name of the complainant: Panun Kashmir Movement

Cases No: 938, 1202, 254, 826/94-95/NHRC & 1052/95-96/NHRC

With the passing of Indian Independence Act, 1947, hitherto Indian States had to decide about accession to one of the two nations and the Indian Independence Act became the law. The State of Kashmir acceded to India but during the short period that intervened, there was unauthorised occupation on a part of the State. When the dispute was taken to the Security Council of United Nations, a line of control was drawn. The portion of the unauthorised occupation, at the western side of the line of control, came to be known as Pakistan Occupied Kashmir (POK) and the areas to the east of the line of control continued to be known as the State of Jammu and Kashmir and came to be governed as a federating State of the Indian Union government in due course.

In the Valley, about 300 thousand Hindus were inhabiting, who were called the Kashmiri Pandits. Around 1989-90 terrorist activities escalated and the Hindu residents and their properties in the valley became the main target of attack. Soon, apprehensive of their lives and on account of insecurity to their property, they migrated out of the valley and took shelter in camps around Jammu, in and around Delhi and some other parts of India. It may be noted that a group of Muslims also simultaneously migrated from the valley feeling oppressed of the terrorist activities.

The complainant in this case before us is the Panun Kashmir Movement (PKM) which claims to be the mouthpiece of these Hindu migrants.

Quite a number of claims had been raised in their memorandum. When the matter was taken up on 13th of March, 1996, seven points came up for discussion. On behalf of the complainant, five persons appeared. The State was represented by the Chief Secretary and a group of officers. The points which arose for discussion are indicated below:

Point No. 1

An amount of Rs.1 lakh as incentive in favour of all displaced Kashmiri Hindu traders, agriculturalists, orchardists, contractors and self-employed professionals besides interest free loan of Rs. 1 lakh repayable in 72 easy instalments.

Chief Secretary was not prepared to make any provision of incentive loan, much less of Rs. one lakh which would be by way of gift. This part of claim was considered and we have not been able to persuade ourselves to entertain the same. Accordingly, there would not be any recommendation on that score.

Coming to the facility of a loan of Rs. one lakh, we are of the view that for the purpose of meeting the necessity of rehabilitation, it is necessary that a loan upto Rs. one lakh should be provided and this facility should be at a concessional rate of interest. We are inclined to accept the position that this amount should be allowed as a loan at 9% interest per annum and be repayable in instalments spread over a period of five years. We realise that this is something unusual but the situation that had arisen in the State and the sufferings which the claimants have undergone including uncertainties of life would justify a special treatment of this type. We may point out that the Chief Secretary exhibited sufficient understanding of the situation and agreed to the provision of the loan and some concession in the matter of payment of interest and spread over of the repayment.

Point No.2

The second head of claim is the relief assistance given to every migrant family to be escalated. It is not disputed that the State government had been paying cash assistance of Rs. 1000/- per month to the migrants which was raised to Rs.1,500/- in 1994. The claim is that the upper limit of the assistance should be raised to Rs. 2,000/- per month keeping in view the hike in the cost of living and the high prices. The Chief Secretary pointed out that the proposal of escalation is pending consideration of the Union Government and as long as the Government of India does not agree, there cannot be any escalation as the burden is borne by the Central Government. It has been pointed out that free electricity; rations, health care and

drinking water are being provided to the migrants. This part of the representation on behalf of the State was disputed.

We are aware of the position that the Government of India has taken upon itself a very heavy and onerous financial burden already in the matter of payment of Rs. 1, 500/- as cash assistance to every migrant family per month. At the same time, it cannot be over-looked that the cost of living index has gone up and the migrants are not in a position to make their ends meet unless there be escalation in the cash assistance. We would, therefore, recommend to the Central government that there be an escalation of Rs. 500/- from April, 1996 and the upper limit be made to Rs. 2,000/- per family as against the present rate of Rs.1, 500/-.

Point No. 3

The next claim that came up for discussion was that while no rental is charged for living in the camps, those who have been living outside on their own arrangements, have to engage rental accommodations and are obliged to make payment. It was, therefore, claimed that house rent facility at the rate of Rs. 1,000/- per month be paid to each non-camp migrant family. This claim was discussed at length and we found that considering a claim of this type would not be warranted from any angle. It appears that 3,361 ORTs have already been allotted to the migrants and the government is constructing new ORTs in a phased manner so that all the camp dwellings are provided accommodation. We are inclined to accept the stand of the Chief Secretary that sanction of house rent allowance as claimed would be difficult to sustain as also implement. We are not, however, satisfied that appropriate attention has been given for construction of adequate accommodation. The Commission visited the camps around Jammu last year and some of the camps in and around Delhi have also been visited by some of us. We have also seen the one-room accommodation built near the Jammu camps and are of the view that the said accommodation is very small and inadequate for a family to live in. There is some rationale in the stand of the State that the migrants are expected to go back to the

valley and the present camp stay is temporary. In view of the uncertainty of the length of time involved in the process, it is appropriate that more of living accommodation with some extra space should be built up quickly and with a liberal approach. We have suggested to the Chief Secretary that apart from the funding that the State government and the Union of India arrange, the Life Insurance Corporation should be contacted and prevailed upon to build and provide some accommodation for the purpose of the migrants. It is paramount that the minimum need of living accommodation is satisfied.

We would like to recommend to the governments of the State and the Centre to provide a little more liberal accommodation and suggest that the assistance of Life Insurance Corporation of India is availed to solve this problem. We have discussed the matter with the Secretary, Insurance.

Point No. 4

The next point related to resistance against a government order of 29th April, 1992, relating to promotion of employees who have been displaced from Kashmir valley and have been living outside it. The claimants want that this government order should be withdrawn.

We have discussed this matter at length. The present scheme seems to be for those of the government servants who have migrated from the valley and are being paid their salaries without reference to the rendition of work. The government servants who become entitled to promotion by seniority being requested to report at the promotional avenues in the valley and in case there is no reporting as required, the promotion does not avail. After a thorough discussion of the subject, it was agreed that the public servants who get their promotions against posts in the valley should report at the places of posting against the posts and the State government would take appropriate exercise to ensure that a benevolent approach is shown towards the promotee migrants.

Point No. 5

The next head of claim is regarding filling up of vacancies in public posting like State and Central Government establishment and public sector undertakings. It has been stated that several of the migrants have retired during the last 4-5 years but there is no attempt to recruit appropriate candidates out of this category to fill up such vacancies. The Chief Secretary has agreed to look into this aspect of the matter and attempt to ensure facilities for the purpose of appropriate recruitment within the limit set by law. We recommend to the Union of India to consider the feasibility of extending service opportunities to this without affecting existing rights. The State Government and the Central Government should also ensure provision of minimum facilities under the existing set up for facilitating recruitment out of this category of candidates.

Point No. 6

The sixth point related to 50 percent amount said to have been with-held out of the ex-gratia relief already sanctioned in regard to the loss of property and the Commission has been asked to recommend payment thereof.

The position has been explained both by the Chief Secretary and the Relief Commissioner, who was also present during the discussions. It appears that the method of payment of compensation has been on the basis that the total loss is estimated and 50 per cent thereof subject to an upper limit is borne by the State. This seems only to be a modality of assessment and does not involve with-holding of 50% of the eligible compensation. We are satisfied that the claim is advanced on account of total misconception. The complainants have understood that there is no basis or foundation for this claim of theirs.

It was pointed out with reference to the ex-gratia grant of the Charar-E-Sharief area of the valley that more than 50 per cent of the loss had been paid by way of assistance. Papers have been shown to us and the Chief Secretary has clearly indicated that one uniform policy has been evolved in the State and sustained in the

matter of the petitioner and the people living in the Charar-E-Sharief area. Only 50 per cent of the damage has been paid. Apart from this, additional payment in Charar-E-Sharief area was made out of the Prime Minister's Relief Fund and thus extra relief has been granted. We cannot recommend any payment out of the Prime Minister's Relief Fund as it is totally discretionary.

Point No.7

The community is considerably advanced in the field of education, and literacy appears to be almost cent-percent. There is no dispute that educational facilities provided to them in their present surrounding is not adequate but a claim of compensation to the tune of Rs. 1 lakh for interference in the process of education in the circumstances is not warranted. The Union Government did not require the migrants to shift. To that extent it is a voluntary act. At the same time, we cannot close our eyes to the factual situation which compelled the migrants out. It was not a matter of their choice but seemed to be one of compulsion. They ran away for life abandoning their home and hearth.

The Kashmir University has a Deputy Registrar level officer at Jammu to look after the facilities of its students living in the Jammu area. The said office is not functioning to the satisfaction of everyone. We had recommended earlier and would like to reiterate our recommendation that an Additional Registrar of the University be posted at Jammu to render necessary assistance to migrant students at Jammu.

We suggest that a small committee be formed to operate at Jammu to assist the Additional Registrar and in the said committee 50% of membership be extended to parents of the migrant students and for maintaining coordination and making the committee effective, the Jammu based Relief Commissioner and the District Magistrate of Jammu be taken as members.

The State of Jammu and Kashmir should take steps to ensure that some seats for MBBS and Engineering be reserved for migrant students on the basis of proved merit. If necessary the Supreme Court could be moved to approve this arrangement as

it may run contrary to the Supreme Court decision of 1984 relating to medical admissions.

The other part of the last question is left open and we do not propose to examine it at this stage.

We must say that the Chief Secretary demonstrated a sense of understanding of the problems which impressed us very much. We are sure that he would sensitize the administrative machinery effectively and make government accept our recommendations quickly so that before it is too late these facilities would be provided.

We understand that the election process in the State is likely to start. Compliance of our recommendations may not be treated a violation of the Code of Conduct as these recommendations have no political angle and implementing them in terms of our recommendation has no political perception.

(RANGA NATH MISRA)
Chairperson

(S. S. KANG)
Member

(VIRENDRA DAYAL)
Member

(V. S. MALIMATH)
Member

Dated: 13.3. 1996

NHRC RECOMMENDS VARIOUS RELIEF MEASURES FOR KP MIGRANTS

NEW DELHI, MARCH,31: Concerned over the hardships being faced by a large number of Kashmiri Pandits who migrated from the Valley in the wake of militancy, the National Human Rights Commission (NHRC) has recommended a number of measures to redress their grievances. Acting on a complaint of Panun Kashmir Movement (PKM) and after several rounds of consultations over nearly six months with the Government, the Commission has recommended enhancement of relief assistance given to every migrant family, "liberal accommodation" in the camps and educational opportunities to migrant students at Jammu.

The Commission held several rounds of consultations with the representatives of Panun Kashmir Movement & Jammu and Kashmir Sharanarthi Action Committee which were also attended by the Chief Secretary and the Relief Commissioner of the State Government. The Commission headed by Mr. Justice Ranganathan Misra in its interim direction to the Union Government recommended that there should be an increase of Rs. 500 from April this Year in relief assistance given to every Migrant family and the upper limit should be hiked to Rs. 2,000/- per family as against Rs. 1,500/- at present.

Though the Central Government had taken upon itself a "very heavy and onerous" financial burden already in the matter of payment of Rs. 1500/- as cash assistance to every migrant family per month, it could not be overlooked that the cost of living index had gone up and the migrants were not in a position to make both ends meet unless there was an increase in the cash assistance, the Chairman felt.

On the issue of accommodation provided to the migrant families in various camps, the NHRC observed, "In view of the uncertainty of the length of time involved in the process, it is appropriate that more of living accommodation with some extra space should be built up quickly and with a liberal approach."

Apart from the funding that the Centre and State Government arrange, the life Insurance Corporation should be contacted and prevailed upon to build and provide some accommodation for the migrants, the NHRC suggested. "it is paramount that minimum need of living accommodation is satisfied," it said.

The Commission also recommended that an Additional Registrar of the Kashmir University should be posted at Jammu to render necessary assistance to migrant students at Jammu and a small committee be set up at Jammu to assist the Additional Registrar

Other issues like promotion avenues to Government servants who have migrated from the Valley, filling up of vacancies in the State and Central Government establishments and public sector units also figured in the discussion.

Stating that the Chief Secretary had "demonstrated a sense of understanding of the problems which impressed us very much," the Commission hoped that he would sensitize the administrative machinery effectively and make the Government accept the recommendations quickly so that "before it is too late these facilities would be provided".

The Commission also observed that "compliance of our recommendations may not be treated as violation of the Code of conduct (for election) as these recommendations have no political angle (PTI).

SUBMISSIONS ON BEHALF OF PANUN KASHMIR MOVEMENT(PKM)

Purpose for which State exists

The purpose for which State exists is to promote the i) welfare, ii) peace, iii) happiness, iv) prosperity of its citizens.

It is the duty of the State to provide for their i) security, ii) to protect its citizens in the enjoyment of those comforts and conveniences which they are taxed to provide.

The duty rests with equal force on the executive, legislature and judicial departments. The Commission is part of the judicial department of the State.

These three departments of the State are meant to fulfill the purpose for which the State exists.

The State as sovereign is *parens patriae* that is, guardian and trustee of its citizens.

Genocide of Hindus and Sikhs in Kashmir valley

During the hearing on 26th of May, 1997, reference was made to genocide of Kashmiri Pandits in particular, and non-Hindus i.e. Hindus and Sikhs in general in the Kashmir Valley. That is clear from the facts and circumstances set out in the Report submitted by Petitioner.

Was it not the duty or obligatory function of Government of India/Jammu and Kashmir to take, prompt and effective steps, to stop it happening?

The test of whether a particular activity may rightly be called a duty or obligatory function is whether the welfare of the State as a whole is substantially promoted by or involved in its exercise.

In the performance of its duty or in managing its integral affairs the State is answerable to none, except only to the requirements of the Constitution. The only injunction imposed on the state is not to violate the Constitution of India.

With this exception it is supreme within the territories of India.

State of Jammu and Kashmir integral part of India

The preamble of the Constitution of India read with the provisions of sections 3 and 147 of the constitution of Jammu and Kashmir in conjunction with part-I of the Constitution of India and the first Schedule of our Constitution, the State of Jammu and Kashmir is an integral part of India, that is Bharat, and the Union of the States enumerated in the first Schedule cannot be dissolved. ANNEXURE .

PKM No.1 (pages 7 to 12)

The constitution looks to a Union of the States, whose territorial boundaries, within the territory of India may be redrawn by Parliament for the Article 3 of the Constitution. Our Constitution does not provide for cessation.

Section 1, Indian Independence Act 1947, set up two independent Dominions in India, to be known as India and Pakistan. Reference to *referendum* is made in the Act of 1947 only in relation to North Western Frontier Province. ANNEXURE PKM No2 (pages 13 to 20).

Section 7, freed Indian rulers from the suzerainty of the British Monarch and all the treaties, agreements between the Rulers of Indian States and British Government stood lapsed from 15th August 1947. from that date the British Government ceased to exercise powers of any nature in the affairs of the Rulers of Indian States.

The State of Jammu and Kashmir promulgated its Constitution in 1957. Pakistan did not have even in that year a Constitution and was run according to provisions of Government of India Act, 1935, as adapted by Adaptation of Laws and orders issued from time to time. Pakistan had its Constitution in 1958.

According to our Constitution, Jammu and Kashmir is part of the territory of India, but in none of the more than one Constitutions, enacted from time to time, by the various Constituent Assemblies of Pakistan, it is provided, that the State of Jammu and Kashmir was part of the territory of Pakistan. Reference may be made to section 2 of the Constitution of the Islamic Republic of Pakistan. Please see ANNEXURE PKM No. 3 (Pages 21 to 23)

Instrument of accession signed in 1947 does not provide for “determining opinion”:

Reference is made to paragraph 6 of the Schedule of The India (Provisional Constitution) order 1947, read with the Instrument of Accession of Jammu and Kashmir State, signed on 26th October, 1947. Copy of the Instrument annexed as **ANNEXURE PKM No.4 (Pages 24 to 3) @ 1**

Any assurance or commitment, given by any person or authority, at any time or before any national or international fora, that wishes of the people of Jammu and Kashmir would be ascertained is unauthorized and an unconstitutional commitment and does not bind the people of India. @ 2

Mujahideens and religious fanatics

Some misled or misguided or mischief minded persons or agents of powers inimical to India cannot be permitted to conduct themselves in such a manner that the State or Union Government wilts under malicious propaganda, let loose internationally, and allow these persons the freedom to practice genocide on Hindus and Sikhs who had been from time immemorial living in that area.

It is an open secret that the so called *Mujahideens* or crusaders of Islam operating in the State of Jammu and Kashmir are not only civilians of Pakistan but also those who have come from Sudan, Libya, Saudi Arabia, Afghanistan, and other countries. The Pakistan Army is also sending its volunteers. It is not the first time that country has intruded into Jammu and Kashmir. The story begins in the year of our Independence. Please see ANNEXURE-PKM No.5 (pages 35 to 38);

ANNEXURE-PKM No.6 (pages 39 to 46);

ANNEXURE-PKM No.7 (pages 47 to 52);

It caused so much outrage in India that a person like Mahatma Gandhi, said:
“.....At one time I was feeling very miserable and oppressed when I heard this. But when Kashmir operations began, I began to feel proud of them, and every aeroplane that goes with material and arms and ammunition and requirements of the army. I

feel proud. Any injustice on our land, any encroachment on our land.... should be defended by violence, if not by non-violence....If you can defend by non-violence, by all means do it; that is the first thing I should like. If it is for me to do, I would not touch anything, either a pistol or revolver or anything. But I would not see India degrading itself to be feeling helpless.” ANNEXURE PKM No.6 (page 45).

These intruders and their local accomplices deserve to be treated as international criminals. They do not deserve protection of the Commission because of the state of public emergency which threatens the life and existence of India. Imagine giving in to the plea of these gangsters. They operate under a religious cover – calling themselves as crusaders for establishment of *Nizam-e-Mustafa*. Imagine if the demand is acceded to. India would take no time to disintegrate. No section of persons within the territorial boundaries of India has the right to demand secession. It is neither part of its political nor fundamental right.

Annexed as ANNEXURE PKM No.8 (pages 53 to 66), is a well researched details of Pakistan’s complicity in spreading terrorism in Jammu and Kashmir.

The complaint before the Commission is that with lightening speed during the night intervening 19-20th January, 1990, a situation arose which made it clear to the small number of Hindus and Sikhs living in Srinagar town as well as in the valley that their lives and properties, their honour and religion, their families and women folk in particular, were all seriously endangered. They were forced to flee. Please see pages 36 to 43 of the printed Report submitted to the Commission by Petitioner.

These communities had already been systematically subjected to cruelties of barbaric dimensions.

Please see pages 11,60 to 76, 297 to 301 of the printed Report compiled by the Petitioner. These are not complete details dealing with the crime of genocide. Complete information would be available with the Union Government and the State Government of Jammu and Kashmir.

Vandalisation of cultural symbols and destruction of temples in the State of Jammu and Kashmir also find mention in the printed Report at pages 12 to 34.

Neglected and orphan minority

Kashmiri Pandits are a neglected religious and ethnic group. This is for the first time in recent history that they have found a forum, where their miserable plight may find the long awaited redress and cure. The so called Human Rights activists of India have not said a word about the plight of this small community. The same may be said about Amnesty International (except for stray lip service sometimes done grudgingly). The manner in which the home grown Human Rights activists have looked at the problem is clear from the typical quotes of pages 246 and 249, in the book-Kashmir in the Cross Fire by Victoria Schoefield. ANNEXURE PKM No. 9 (pages 67 to 70).

Persons learned in law, unmindful of or ignorant about the Constitutional position, daring to express themselves in the manner they have done?

Not to single out the lawyers, Human Rights activists, the political leaders have also contributed to the sad plight of Kashmiri Pandits.

They are also victims of political jockeying exercise in which money bags flowed to buy support of anti-national elements ANNEXURE No.10 (pages 71 to79).

It would not be wrong to say that the inspiration for what had happened to Kashmiri Pandits was provided by Jawaharlal Nehru who contemptuously said in August, 1945 at the annual session of the National Conference held at Sopore, in Kashmir Valley, "if non-Muslims want to live in Kashmir, they should join the National Conference or bid good bye to the country.....If Pandits do not join it, no safeguards and weightages will protect them". ANNEXTURE PKM No.6 (page 44).

The unbriefed and unauthorized statement by Mountbatten was a conspiracy. ANNEXURE PKM No. 6 (page 46). This is another cause of the miserable plight of the Kashmiri Pandits.

Contentions

1. Whether in view of the facts and circumstances set out in the Report as submitted by PKM to the Hon'ble Commission is it not *prima-facie* established that Kashmiri Hindus and Sikhs are victims of the practice of genocide?

2. Or, in the alternative, does it not constitute deprivation of their fundamental rights guaranteed by articles 19 and 21 of the Constitution?
3. Whether in view of the facts and circumstances set out in the Report, is it not established that the Union Government/State Government of Jammu and Kashmir have failed to effectively perform the fundamental duties and obligations cast upon the State to secure and protect the life, liberty and property of its citizens?
4. Whether the Union Government has failed in its duty by not taking up this matter before the International Court of Justice?
5. Whether in view of the fact Parliament has not enacted law making genocide a crime, what prevented the Government from taking cognizance under Section 121, Indian Penal Code?
6. Whether the Convention on the Prevention and Punishment of the Crime of Genocide and the provisions contained in our Constitution do not form an integral part of the general principles of law for safeguarding the liberties of the Kashmiri Pandits and others who have been uprooted from Kashmir Valley?

@1. The accession was in common form.

@2. The terms of the Constitution determine when an act of legislature is final. If the constitution is subject to referendum only then referendum will be held. If not there is no constitutional requirement for holding referendum. Here the meaning of referendum would be determining the wishes of the people.

Note : The reference, herein to "PKM No." pertains to Annexures of Submissions submitted by PKM to NHRC (Not included here for want of space).

Submitted through:

P.N.LEKHI

Sr. Advocate,
Supreme Court of India

18.06.1997

BEFORE THE NATIONAL HUMAN RIGHTS COMMISSION

IN THE MATTER OF :

- | | | | |
|----|----------|-----------------|--------------------------|
| 1. | CASE NO. | 802/94-95/NHRC | PANUN KASHMIR MOVEMENT |
| 2. | CASE NO. | 938/94-95/NHRC | PANUN KASHMIR MOVEMENT |
| 3. | CASE NO. | 1081/94-95/NHRC | ALL INDIA KASHMIRI SAMAJ |

REPLY ON BEHALF OF UNION OF INDIA

The Respondent, Union of India/Central Government states and submits as under:-

1) A) There are in all five reports. Chronologically, they are as follows:

- a) Memorandum dated 07/03/1994
- b) Memorandum dated 07/07/1994
- c) Memorandum dated 05/10/1995
- d) Memorandum dated 28/12/1995
- e) Memorandum dated 16/01/1996

B) Sum and substance of these reports is as follows. There have been:-

- a) Killings of Hindus in Kashmir from 1989.
- b) Destruction of their property.
- c) Destruction of their shrines.

C) The above facts have been categorized as

- a) Genocide
- b) Exodus
- c) Apartheid

BEFORE THE NATIONAL HUMAN RIGHTS COMMISSION
IN THE MATTER OF :

- | | | | |
|----|----------|-----------------|--------------------------|
| 1. | CASE NO. | 802/94-95/NHRC | PANUN KASHMIR MOVEMENT |
| 2. | CASE NO. | 938/94-95/NHRC | PANUN KASHMIR MOVEMENT |
| 3. | CASE NO. | 1081/96-97/NHRC | ALL INDIA KASHMIRI SAMAJ |

I N D E X

S.NO.	PARTICULARS OF DOCUMENTS	PAGE NO.
1.	Reply on behalf of Union of India	1-30
2.	Annexure-I copy of the J&K Migrants Immovable Property (Preservation, Protection and Restraint on Distress Sales) Act. 1997.	31-35
3.	Annexure-II-J&K Migrants (Stay of proceedings) Act. 1997.	36-37
4.	Annexure-III-Copy of Interim Report prepared by State of J&K.	38-60
5.	Annexure-IV (collectively)-Copies of three charts regarding Statement of J&K families living in various states, quantum of relief given by various States and statement of expenditures etc.	61-68
6.	Annexure-V(collectively)- Containing. 4 charts regarding terrorist violence in J&K, killings of terrorist violence, destruction of property by militants, recovery of weapons from militants, No. of persons kidnapped; chart showing criminal acts, extortion and lootings, details of foreign mercenaries arrested, killed etc.	69-87
7.	Annexure-VI- Detail of persons kidnapped/killed (collectively containing 7 charts)	88

Filed by :

Through

(A.K.Vali)
 Central Govt. Standing Counsel,
 462, Lawyers Chambers,
 Delhi High Court,
 New Delhi.

2. It is a fact that due to targeted attacks by the militants against innocent civilians in the early years of the ongoing terrorist violence in J&K coupled with calls from fundamentalist terrorist groups to Kashmiri Pandits to leave the valley, the vast majority of Kashmiri Pandits and other minority communities were forced to migrate. It may be noted that the situation was aided and abetted from across the border, with a specific aim to create a wedge and destroy the secular fabric of the State. In fact, as the applicants have themselves stated, their Muslim neighbours were also helpless in the situation created by this proxy war. But, there are a many number of families of Hindus and Sikhs who have continued to live in the valley, both in towns and villages. This is also to be kept in mind.
3. A question has been raised what terminology is to be used to define the status of the applicants and their families on account of such dislocation.
4. The Government have been using the terminology of "migrant". The applicants had insisted to term them as "Internally displaced persons". The matter was raised earlier before the Commission which after taking various view points into consideration had then maintained the word "migrant".
5. As a matter of fact it is undisputed that the applicants must get the relief for redressal of their grievances. Accordingly, they are being given various relief benefits. Nature of the relief does not depend on the terminology to be attributed to them. The terminology that is to be attributed to all those who were compelled to leave their native places i.e. whether they are to be called migrants, displaced persons or any other designation, is of secondary importance.
6. But, the word "displaced person" as well as "refugee" would have totally different implications. The matter is not of interpretation of any statute. The question is what designation is to be given to the applicants.
7. The word "displaced person" as well as "refugee" has been used with reference to a person who has migrated to India as result of disturbances or fear of disturbances on account of partition of the country.

“Refugee” is a word primarily used when somebody takes shelter in another country. This situation does not arise in the present case. Same thing applies towards “displaced person”. In other words refugee and displaced person has been used almost in the same connotation.

Normal dictionary meaning of “refuge” as given in Concise Oxford Dictionary is:-

“Refugee -a person taking refuge, especially in a foreign country from war or persecution or natural disaster”. “French refugee, past participle of she is refugier (as refugee)”.

The meaning of the word “displaced person” is given in the same dictionary as follows:

“Displaced person – a person who is forced to leave his or her home country because of war, persecution etc. a refugee”

The text of the law, namely that which is used in the case of Chief Settlement Commissioner confirms this position. “Chief Settlement Commissioner vs Om Parkash, AIR 1969 BC page-33 at page-36). Similarly, “Migration has been defined in connection with Article 6 & 7 of the constitution (see State of Assam vs. Ziladar Ali, 1972 (2) SCC 320 at 322_. Considering this position, the Government is of the view that the word “migrant” is more appropriate.

8. Main question relates to the rehabilitation of all those who had “migrated” from Kashmir valley on account of disturbances which implies restoration back to their native places. Subsidiary question is granting of relief for damages sustained on account of damage to their property wherever restoration in kind is not possible. This restoration includes also of temples and shrines.

9. Since it is not possible to identify the wrongdoers, it will be impossible to get relief against them, either of restoration or compensation.
10. These are the problems which are to be tackled at the State level framing a policy and not merely to try to redress the civil wrong as normally a court would have done.
11. The problem requires sympathetic consideration in the matter of rehabilitation and all steps have been taken in the past and will be taken in future to ameliorate their situation.
12. When question of rehabilitation is taken up, it refers to all inhabitants of the State of Jammu & Kashmir regardless of their religion, sex and caste, i.e. may be Hindu, Muslim, Sikh or any other.
13.
 - a) At the moment, rehabilitation has been done, finding provisional accommodation at different places in the camps mainly in Jammu, Delhi etc.
 - b) About 49,000 Hindu and Sikh families registered themselves at various places as migrants.

There was also a substantial migration of Muslim families. 1468 Muslim families have registered themselves with authorities in Jammu, but, there is a sizable number of other Muslim families which have not registered themselves due to fear of militant reprisal against their relatives in the valley.

- c) It may be relevant to note that only around 4100 out of the total of 19338 families registered in Delhi are drawing cash relief and only 230 families are living in camps, while the remaining families are staying under their own arrangements. In Jammu also of the 28561 families, only about 4500 are living in camps.

- d) The fact is that even after large scale migration a number of families of Kashmiri Pandits and other minority communities have continued to live in the valley as stated above.
14. a) But this is not a permanent solution because the ultimate aim of the Government is to ensure them a safe and hon'ble return at the places from where the migrants had to leave their own land and homestead.
- b) It will be necessary that those who want to occupy their former native places have to give that indication, so that immediate steps are taken to put them back in their houses.
- c) And wherever such homestead is destroyed, additional grant is given for rebuilding the house apart from the ex-gratia relief already paid.
- d) The relief of accommodation has been given in the past and will be continued to be given in future, without trying to find out whether the relief can be granted under Protection of Human Rights Act, 1993 or not.
15. The newly elected Government at Jammu & Kashmir in the year 1996 has enacted an Act known as the Jammu & Kashmir Migrant Immovable Property (Preservation, Protection and Restraint on Distress Sales) Act, 1997, to facilitate the process as mentioned hereinabove (Annexure-II). There were also liabilities of those migrants from different financial institutions.
- In order to prevent any recovery action against them, another Act has been passed by the newly elected legislature known as "The Jammu and Kashmir Migrants (Stay of Proceedings) Act, 1997 (Annexure-II).
16. The sub-committee appointed by the Government of J&K for finalizing action plan for the return of migrants has submitted an interim report to Government of J&K

which is under their consideration. The same is at Annexure-III. There are many factors to be taken into consideration before giving final shape to the same. Much depends upon the response on part of migrants to reoccupy their homesteads.

17. In the past, as far as the preventive action, the Central Government as well as State Government has taken all measures for normalization of situation with their power to protect the citizens and prevent the commission of offences.

The measures are:

- i) Imposition of Governor/President Rule for better monitoring of the situation.
- ii) Action under TADA against the militants.
- iii) Preventive detentions under PSA.
- iv) Declaration of militancy affected areas of J&K State as disturbed areas.
- v) Banning of JKLF.
- vi) Deployment of Central Security Force (CSF) for helping the State Administration in dealing with militancy.
- vii) Close vigil and intensive patrolling was undertaken by BSF of border areas/LOC to check infiltration.
- viii) Clearing and combing operations like door to door search, patrolling and setting up pickets etc. in sensitive areas and other related measures were taken to curb militancy.
- ix) District level Coordination Committees were set up to bring about better coordination between the SFs and Civil Administration, increase the efforts, revive the normal activities of the administration and to provide a forum for redressal of people's grievances.
- x) Special cells were constituted at the State and District levels for redressal of grievances and public hearings were organized by the Chief Secretary and District Commissioners concerned on designated Grievances Redressal Days.

- xi) Deployment of special teams was made for verification of development works to ensure proper utilisation of funds.
 - xii) All legal and procedural requirements pertaining to holding of elections such as delimitation of constituencies, up-dating of electoral rolls, special arrangement for voting by migrants etc, were completely timely.
 - xiii) Intensive efforts were made to reactivate the political elements and forces in the State by continued consultation at the level of Government Advisors, Chief Secretary and also at national level by the Prime Minister and Home Minister.
 - xiv) A counter propaganda to discredit the falsified propaganda against the country was made at various levels/fairs.
 - xv) Announcement of a special package by the Prime Minister was made in Parliament in July/August last year for speedier development of the State.
18. It is wrong to say that the respondent Government has failed in its duties to secure the life liberty and properly of the citizens.
19. The Government have resorted to multifaceted activities to fight terrorism in the State which involved not only considerable amount of expenditure, but also resulted in loss of precious lives of the security forces and civilians.
20. The Government made its best efforts to retrieve the situation and took a number of measures for the normalization of the situation in J&K which led to the successful holding of elections. The steps taken to ensure safety of life and liberty are given in the following paragraph.
21. Since the start of militancy in J&K, the aim of the Government has been to ensure that conditions of peace and normalcy are created, and the political and democratic process restored in the State of Jammu and Kashmir at the earliest. Towards this end

concerned efforts were made and the situation was continuously and closely monitored and reviewed and a number of steps were taken. A list of major steps taken is as follows:

- a) Strengthening and augmentation of security forces from time to time including progressive increase of involvement of local police in anti-militancy operations.
- b) Steps were taken to strengthen and intensify vigilance and patrolling of vulnerable areas and installations, augmenting the presence of the security forces particularly in the sensitive, vulnerable and far-flung areas, undertaking various anti-terrorist operations such as targeted operations against them on the basis of the intelligence report and local informers, combating operations, establishments of special pickets in the most vulnerable areas which included public places for the protection of citizens, to flush out terrorists and contain their activities, and optimisation of the impact of the security operations.
- c) Due to the nature of the mountainous terrain, jungles on the border and extended distances, it was not possible to stop infiltration altogether. However, steps were taken to check and prevent infiltration of anti-national elements, foreign nationals/mercenaries as also of arms and weapons and other devices, along the LOC/Border by way of strengthening deployment of security forces, intensive patrolling and surveillance equipment which include night vision devices, streamlining of arrangements for information gathering and sharing between various agencies, initiating steps for construction of border fencing and flood lighting in vulnerable stretches of the border.

- d) Streamlining of the intelligence apparatus to ensure better availability and use of information and coordinating between various agencies.
- e) Establishment of Village Defense Committees in sensitive and vulnerable areas to bolster the confidence of the people and secure their cooperation in dealing with the militants.
- f) Steps were taken to educate the public, increase awareness and solicit public cooperation in containing and preventing such incidents.
- g) Complementary regulatory steps like checking of buses and other vehicles on various routes, raids and arrests of criminal elements and smugglers, setting up special investigation etc.
- h) The outlay under the employment oriented scheme of the Rural Development and other sectors were substantially stepped up to generate employment opportunities so that the separatist elements are not able to include and misguide the innocent youth for misusing their services for anti-national activities and efforts were made to motivate the misguided youth, who had taken to the gun to move away from this path and join the mainstream including announcement of a policy for surrender and rehabilitation through provision of jobs or various self-employed schemes.

22. The facilities provided to the migrants can be serialised as under:

- i) the migrant families in Jammu and Delhi are being given free ration and paid cash assistance, the maximum limit of which was enhanced by 20% in June 1996, i.e. from Rs.1,500/- to Rs.1,800/- per month per family of four or more. The needy families registered in other States/Union Territories are also

drawing relief from the respective States/UTs at scales fixed by them. As per available information, an amount of Rs.264.47 crores have been spent by various State Governments.

- ii) 14 camps have been established at various places in Delhi and 15 in the Jammu region of J&K. In the migrant camps, basic amenities like water supply, electricity, health care, sanitation etc. are being provided free of cost. The Prime Minister announced a special package of Rs. 6.0 crores for improvement of facilities in the camps in Jammu in the Parliament on 02/08/1996, the implementation of which is in progress.
- iii) Some of the migrant employees have been adjusted against posts in the Jammu and the Ladakh Regions and the services of a few are being utilised on an ad-hoc basis in migrant schools/colleges etc. The remaining bulk of migrant State Government employees are, however, not doing any official work though they are receiving normal leave salaries. The annual expenditure on this head is Rs. 50 crores approximately.
- iv) As in other cases, the Cashmere migrants are being paid ex-gratia relief equivalent to 50% of the assessed loss of immovable property damaged in Cashmere as a result of the ongoing violence, subject to a ceiling of Rs. One lakh in each case.
- v) The Government of J&K have made special arrangements for the migrant students. A sub-registry of the University of Cashmere has been opened in Jammu. Special camp schools and colleges have been opened for the migrants. Seats in the Engineering and medical courses have been increased for accommodating more migrant students. The other States/UTs are also providing facilities for the migrant students. Maharashtra, Madhya Pradesh

and Delhi have provided reservation in technical institutions for migrant students. Domicile requirements have been removed by most of the States. Various States also accept migration of medical students from J&K after approval of Medical Council of India.

- vi) Irrespective of the place of residence, the children of the migrants are eligible for selection to State Government jobs. A special age relaxation of 5 years has been provided in the maximum age-limit in respect of recruitment in Central as well as State services to the youth of J&K.
- vii) The State Government has made available the PRY and State Self-employment Scheme for the benefit of the Cashmere migrants in Jammu, Udhampur and Kathua, and loans are being granted under these schemes to the migrant traders/entrepreneurs.
- viii) Special procedural relaxations were provided for the early settlement of insurance cases in respect of damaged immovable properties of Kashmiri migrants which resulted in the settlement of about 95% claims, which is a very high percentage as compared to the rest of the country.
- ix) An ex-gratia relief of Rs. One lakh is provided for death in militant activities and an amount of Rs. 500 to Rs. 25,000/- is provided for injuries depending on the seriousness of the injury.

23. Annexure-IV- Annexure-IV (marked collectively), following three charts:

- a) Chart No.1 is the statement indicating J&K families living in various States.
- b) Chart No.2 under heading "Quantum of relief given by various States"

- c) Chart No.3 is the Statement of Expenditure incurred on the relief to Kashmiri migrants by various States.
24. As a result of measures against the militancy more than 33,000 persons were arrested/apprehended, of which 15,658 persons have been arrested under TADA or other substantive law and are being prosecuted under relevant laws and the remaining persons were released after preliminary questioning. The number of cases registered under TADA is 16,620. Besides this, preventive detentions were also made under J&K Public Safety Act (PSA). At present 1,016 persons are under detention under PSA.
25. It is, therefore, clear that the Government has taken steps to investigate whenever criminal offence is found to have been committed in order to prosecute the offenders.
26. From last year, the State of J&K is being administered by the elected representatives and it appears that the situation has improved considerably. This is evident not only from the legislative measures taken as evidenced by Annexure-I & II, but also interim report which marked Annexure-III.
27. a) From the interim report prepared by the State Govt. it is found that the security aspect has taken note of under Chapter I and it has been emphasized that much depends on goodwill and mobilization of opinion. Even if allotment is done in a pocket which otherwise is not feasible, the problem of security will not get solved because certainly the migrants will have to go to the offices, markets and other places for their jobs, travel and other needs, and it will be physically impossible to provide security to each of them.
- b) There are recommendations made under Chapter III for rehabilitation packages and

- c) Under Chapter IV for interim recommendation and transit settlement. Appropriate mention has been made with regard to poor vision of employment as well as educational aspects of the children.
 - d) Under Chapter II, there was a proposal to create authority for the management of the migrants' property and in order to take possession, and take charge of the properties of the migrants, a new Act has been passed which is marked as Annexure-I.
 - e) And also as a relief against recoveries of loans, another Act has been passed to stay the proceedings which is marked as Annexure-II.
 - f) It is, therefore, exceedingly clear that positive steps have been taken by the elected Government and others are in process.
28. As rightly pointed out by the State Government in the interim report, while providing rehabilitation by way of accommodation to the migrants, either putting them back in their old houses wherever they are standing, or making payment of money wherever they have been destroyed or require minor repairs and providing other facilities, the problem will be solved in part, but the security aspect can not be lost sight of. This security aspect cannot be solved by posting security personnel, but by creating goodwill and mobilization of opinion. On this last angle, much depends on the attitude of the migrants as well as of other inhabitants.
29. All the steps mentioned above were taken from time to time and independently of the enactment of Protection of Human Rights Act, 1993 (for short "1993 Act").
30. If on one hand the matter could be sorted out in the manner it was presented at the beginning, in view of the issues presented by the Council of the applicants in the

hearing on 6.6.1997 the problem has taken different shape and, therefore, the same is required to be dealt with strictly within the parameters of the law.

31. The expression 'human rights' has been defined in Section 2(1) (d) of the 1993 Act. The rights relate to life, liberty, equity and dignity of the individual guaranteed by the Constitution which are embodied in the international "Covenant" and enforceable by Courts in India.
32. As per clause 2(1)(f), "covenant" means the International Covenant on Civil and Political Rights and International Covenant on Economic, Social and Cultural Rights adopted by the General Assembly of the United Nations on the 16th December, 1996.
33. The entire grievance as per new issues raised on 18th June, 1997 is based on 1948 convention known as the "Convention on Prevention and Punishment of Crime of Genocide 1948". Obviously, this convention is not mentioned in clause 2(1)(f) of 1993 Act and, therefore no application can be entertained on the basis of 1948 Convention by this Hon'ble Commission.
34. Besides reading the long title of the Convention, it is exceedingly clear that it deals with prevention and punishment of the crime of genocide. It further recites that the contracting parties undertake to enact in accordance with the respective Constitution the necessary legislation to give the effect of the provision of the present Convention and in particular to provide effective penalties for persons guilty of genocide or of any other acts enumerated in Article 3. In Article 2 of 1948 Convention, genocide is defined and in Article 3 also acts preparatory of abetment and of complicity to the genocide are also declared to be punishable. The purpose of 1948 Convention is punitive.

35. The Convention on International Covenants on Civil and Political Rights, in Article 6 recites that every human being has the inherent right to life. It does not deal at all with shelter to be provided.
36. On the contrary, our Supreme Court while interpreting Article 21 has given the much wider meaning to the word "life". Therefore, and taking into considerations that as per definition in clause 2(1)(d) the human rights are relating to as guaranteed by the Constitution, it would be idle to take recourse to the International Convention on Civil and Political Rights.

37. In the case of M/s Shantistar Builders vs Narayan Khimalal Teatime and ors...(1990) ISCO 520, it has been held at page 527 of the Report as under:

"Basic needs of man have traditionally been accepted to be three -food, clothing and shelter. The right to life is guaranteed in any civilized society. That would take within its sweep the right to food, the right to clothing, the right to decent environment and a reasonable accommodation to live in."

The same principle has been further reiterated in the case of Unnikrishnan vs State of A.P. and others, (1993) 1 SCC 645, at paragraph 30.

38. Our Supreme Court has even gone to the extent of holding that right to life includes right to have shelter. Therefore, the relief, though of recommendatory nature, can be confined only within the framework of our Constitution, without there being need to take recourse to the International Convention.
39. If that is the position in general, with greater force, accommodation is required to be provided to those who were forced to leave their home State. It is in that line the Government has made provision for reasonable accommodation for the time being. But the ultimate goal will be to provide them their old homestead.

40. Coming to the facts, the statistic reveals that the killings have taken place not only in respect of Hindus but also in respect of Muslims. The Chart of the killings is given in Annexure below. From that chart it is clear that majority of the persons who have been killed are the Muslims. There are killings of intellectuals, high officials. There was kidnapping of the citizens of different nationalities.

Following charts have been annexed, marked collectively as Annexure-VII. In the same Annexure-VII, there are following charts:

- a) Chart No.1- Containing two sub-charts, first regarding terrorist violence in J&K and the second containing killings of terrorist violence.
- b) Chart No.2- Containing two sub-charts, first one is -destruction of property by militants and second of recovery of weapons from the militants.
- c) Chart No.3- Containing two sub-charts, first of persons kidnapped by militants and the second one is of criminal acts, extortion and lootings by militants.
- d) Chart No.4- Is about details of foreign mercenaries arrested/killed.

41. a) From the above charts, namely, from second sub-chart of chart No.1, it is clear that number of Muslims killed is much more than Hindus and Sikhs who have been killed.
- b) Similarly, also large number of security personnel have been killed. This is an indication that Government has taken steps to give security to the people but despite the same security forces have also been the target.

- c) There are Government officials killed as well as top political leaders, politicians, members of judiciary and pressmen.
- d) Side by side, militants have also been killed. From the Chart No.3, it is clear that there are acts of kidnapping and abductions wherein security personnel were kidnapped as well politicians.
- e) The nationality of the foreigners is given in chart No.3. The details of foreign mercenaries arrested/killed are given in chart No.4 which indicates that there are mercenaries from Pakistan/POK, Afghanistan and several other nationalities.

42. To be more precise, the particulars of persons kidnapped/killed are given in Annexure-VIII collectively, containng 7 charts, detail of which includes :-

- a) Chart No.1 - Prominent persons kidnapped/killed, below politicians
- b) Chart No.2 - Press media
- c) Chart No.3 - Judiciary
- d) Chart No.4 - Intellectuals
- e) Chart No.5 - Prominent religious leaders killed by terrorists.
- f) Chart No.6 - Government officials
- g) Chart No.7 - Police personnel

43. The additional contentions raised are six in number. The Government desires to give answer thereto in the manner shown below:

Contention No.1

“Whether in view of the facts and circumstances set out in the Report submitted by PKM to the Hon’ble Commission, is it not prima facie established, Kashmiri Hindus and Sikhs are victims of practice of genocide.”

ANSWER

There is no offence of genocide for the reasons set out above. The victims are not only Kashmiri Hindus and Sikhs but Muslims too and Muslims are in majority. There is even kidnapping of foreigners.

44. **Contention No.2**

“Or, in the alternative, does it not constitute deprivation of their fundamental rights granted by Article 19 and 21 of the Constitution?”

ANSWER

Reasonable accommodation has been provided to the needy and also criminal prosecution has been launched and security measures were taken to protect the life of citizens.

The relief is required to be granted not only to those who were forced to leave but also to those who were killed. Due to militant violence a considerable number of people of the valley have also been already affected in terms of loss of life, limb, property and further development.

46. **Contention No.3**

“Whether in view of the facts and circumstances set out in the Report, it is established the Union Government/State Government of Jammu & Kashmir have failed to effectively perform the fundamental duties and obligations cast upon the State to secure and protect the life, liberty and property of its citizens?”

ANSWER

The Central Government as well as the State Government have taken all the steps within their limit to secure and protect the life, liberty and property of citizens and wherever there was a criminal offence, prosecution was launched:

47. Contention No.4

“Whether the Union Government has failed in its duty by not taking up this matter before the International Court of Justice?”

ANSWER

The question of taking the matter before the International Court of Justice does not at all arise.

48. Contention No.5

“Whether in view of the facts, Parliament has not enacted law making genocide a crime, what prevented the Government from taking cognizance under section 121 of the Indian Penal Code?”

ANSWER

In the facts and circumstances, the question of enacting any law making genocide a crime does not arise. The Government has initiated criminal prosecution for the offences as set out above.

49. Contention No.6

“Whether the Convention on the Prevention and Punishment of the Crime of Genocide and the provisions contained in our Constitution do not form an integral part of the general principles of law for safeguarding the liberties of the Kashmiri Pandits and others who have been uprooted from the Kashmir valley?”

ANSWER

- a) There is no point in mixing up the Convention on the punishment (Punishment of Crime of Genocide) and the provisions contained in the Convention (2)(1)(f), the field of both is different.

- b) More so, even when our Constitution embodied Article 51 and particularly clause (c), the intention behind it was only to promote international peace and security only.
- c) Even when any Convention is ratified by India, that has no binding on the Municipal law.
- d) As per section 2, sub-clause (1), clause (d) Human Rights means rights relating to life, liberty, equality and dignity of the individual guaranteed by the Constitution or embodied in the International Covenants and enforceable by Courts in India. If they are already guaranteed by our Constitution, recourse of international covenant need not be there because recourse to such international covenants is alternative and that is made clear by the word "or".
- e) Only when they are not guaranteed by the Constitution, question of taking recourse to International Covenants as mentioned in clause 2(i)(f) may arise but confined to International Covenant on Civil and Political Rights and International Covenant on Economic, Social and Cultural Rights.
- f) As per section 12 dealing with functions of the Commission, power is given to the Commission under Clause (d) to review the safeguards provided by or under Constitution or any other law for the time being in force for the protection of human rights and recommend measures for their effective implementation.
- g) There is also power under clause (e) to review the factors including acts of terrorism that inhibit the enjoyment of human rights and recommend appropriate remedial measures.
- h) There is power given under clause (f) to study treaties and other instruments on human rights and make recommendation for their effective implementation.
- i) On the facts and figures given, if on one hand there is no case of genocide within the meaning of 1948 Convention, on the other, in the light of section 2 (1) (d) & (f) and also because the purpose of the 1948 convention is

punishing the crimes, question of making any recommendation as set out in clause (f) in respect of convention of genocide of 1948 Convention does not arise.

50. **CONCLUSION.**

In conclusion, the solution is to be found at political level to make necessary provisions for protection of rights without compelling the victims to seek enforcement in the courts of law.

RESPONDENTS : UNION OF INDIA

Through

**(A.K.Vali)
Central Govt. Standing Council,
462, Lawyers Chambers,
Delhi High Court,
New Delhi**

19.12.1997

PKM REJOINDER

Before the National Human Rights Commission

Case No. 938/1994-95

In the matter of : -

Ref : - Panun Kashmir Movement (PKM)

Rejoinder on behalf of complainants i.e. Panun Kashmir Movement (PKM) to the reply filed on behalf of Union of India.

The above-named Complainant
most respectfully

Shewth : -

1. At the outset it is most respectfully submitted that the reply filed on behalf of Union of India is vague, evasive and/or does not deal with averments, submissions and/or facts presented both in the Report and/or the Submissions filed by the Complainant before this Hon'ble Commission.

The Union of India has not even taken the trouble of supporting its averments in the reply either by way of an Affidavit or had the same signed and verified by a responsible and/or authorized officer in the Government of India. The approach of the Union of India to the matter at hand is both lackadaisical and/or nebulous.

2. It is most respectfully submitted that the response of Union of India is based on a total misconception of the norms of International Law and misinterpretation of the provision of the Protection of Human Rights Act, 1993 (herein after referred to in short as 'the Act').

- 2.1 The Union of India in paragraphs 31 to 44 have dealt with the contention raised in issue no.1. Broadly the contention of the Union of India is that the complainant's grievance is based on the "Convention on Prevention and Punishment of the Crime of Genocide" which, according to the Union of India is not within the ambit of sections 2(1) (d) and 2(f), of the Act.
- 2.2 It is most respectfully submitted that before one deals with the above contentions of the Union of India it would be necessary to give a brief background of the Convention of Genocide.
- 2.3 The expression 'genocide' came to be recognized and used after the Second World War, when the concept was known as crime against humanity.
- 2.4 The term genocide was first used by Polish Scholar Raphael Lemkin in his book "Axis Rule in Occupied Europe" in which he defined it as "the destruction of nation or an ethnic group.
- 2.5 The Convention was formulated as a result of extensive negotiation at the United Nations. It was at the behest of some delegations at the UN, including India that on 2nd November, 1946, this was inscribed in the Agenda of the General Assembly. On 11th December, 1946 the General Assembly unanimously adopted resolution No. 96 which affirmed that genocide is a crime under International Law and requested the Economic and Social Council to undertake studies which would lead to drafting of the Convention on the Genocide. The UN Secretary General, basing on the Studies of Economic and Social Council, drafted the Convention which was considered by various bodies of the United Nations. Finally, after revising the draft submitted by the Economic and Social Council, it was adopted by UN General Assembly as Resolution No. 260(III) on 09th December, 1948.

2.6 The resolution adopting the Convention had three parts A, B and C. Part A of the resolution approved the text of the Convention and proposed that it be submitted to States for their signature and ratification or accession. Part B invited the International Law Commission to study the possibility of establishing an international judicial organ, possibly in the form of Criminal Chamber of the International Court of Justice for trial of persons charged with genocide. Lastly, Part C referred to extending the application of the Convention to administered territories.

2.7 In accordance with Part A of the resolution, the Convention was signed by India on 29th November, 1949 and ratified on 29th August, 1959. Similarly Pakistan put its signatures to the Convention on 11th December, 1948 and ratified the same on 12th October, 1957.

3. It is most respectfully submitted that a bare perusal of the Articles of the Convention would establish the following propositions: -

- (i) That the prohibition of genocide is now well and truly considered part of the principles of Customary International Law.
- (ii) The Convention clearly establishes that "genocide" whether committed in time of war or peace is a Crime under International Law.
- (iii) That the term "homicide" relates to destruction of an individual human being while the term "genocide" relates exclusively to destruction of human groups and/or ethnic or racial groups.
- (iv) That the definition of genocide as found in the Convention includes acts other than killing.
- (v) That the Convention provides for punishment of not only the act of genocide but also acts such as conspiracy to commit genocide, incitement to commit genocide and/or other acts which amount to attempt or complicity in the said crime.

- (vi) That in order to constitute that crime of genocide, the acts prohibited under the Convention should be accompanied by an intent to partially or completely destroy a particular ethnic or racial group.
4. It is most respectfully submitted that a bare perusal of the data supplied by the Complainant would clearly demonstrate that the crime of genocide has been committed in the State of Jammu & Kashmir, in particular in the Kashmir Province. In this regard reference may be had to the following: -

“RELEVANT REFERENCES”

- (i) (a) Killings of Hindus in Kashmir
Page 11 REPORT (Human Rights Violations)
- (b) List of Killings
Page 63 to 76 REPORT (Human Rights Violations)
- (ii) Destructions of Cultural symbols and Temples.
- (a) Destruction of Hindu Temples from the advent of Islam. Page 12 to 16 -REPORT (on Human Rights Violations).
- (b) Temples vandalised in Febuary 1986. Page 20 to 22 -REPORT(on Human Rights Violations).
- (c) Temples desecrated, damaged or destroyed from 1987 to 1990. Page 22 - REPORT (on Human Rights Violations).
- (d) Temples desecrated, damaged or destroyed from 1990. Page 23 - REPORT (on Human Rights Violations).
- (e) Temples destroyed in Jammu and Kashmir State after 6th December, 1992. Page 27 & 28 - REPORT (on Human Rights Violations).

- (iii) Extermination (Burning of Hindu Properties in Kashmir).
Page 79 to 193 - REPORT (on Human Rights Violations).
 - (iv) District wise details of Displaced families registered ending November, 1990.
Page 42 - REPORT (on Human Rights Violations).
 - (v) Detail of registered displaced Traders
Page 239 to 268 - REPORT (on Human Rights Violations).
5. It is most respectfully submitted that the perusal of the above data would quite clearly establish the crime of genocide as provided from the text of the Report filed by the complainant before this Hon'ble Commission. The facts mentioned in the Report are not denied by Union of India/State Government.
6. The other contention of the Union of India that the crime of genocide is not within the jurisdiction of this Hon'ble Commission is as submitted hereinabove based on misconception of applicability of precepts of International Law. The complainant is seeking directions that this Hon'ble Commission may be pleased, in view of the facts & circumstances before it to:
- (a) Fix up the responsibilities in regard to human rights violations committed against us and review the factors that inhibit to enjoy the human rights.
 - (b) Recommend appropriate remedial measures to readdress the wrongs and humiliations suffered by the Kashmiri Hindu Community and
 - (c) That the Union Government takes recourse to taking up this matter before the appropriate international judicial forum.

7. It is most respectfully submitted that apart from the data supplied by the Complainant in the Report filed with this Hon'ble Commission, the complainant seeks liberty to place on record additional material which has now become available to further support submissions already made in the Report. The additional material in the form of a document is annexed hereto in the form of a supplementary paper book containing documents from pages 10-144*.
8. In the light of facts and circumstances stated and the submissions made in the Report and the Rejoinder, it is most humbly prayed that this Hon'ble Court may issue directions and/or make recommendations as prayed for by the Complainant.

For and on Behalf of the Complainant

Settled by :
P.N.Lekhi,
Sr. Advocate.
Supreme Court of India

Filed Through

Rajiv Shakdher
ADVOCATE
D-41, Pamposh Enclave, New Delhi.

* Supplementary Paper book containing wide details of the killed Kashmiri Pandits and other information is not attached in this book for want of space.

Before the National Human Rights Commission

Case No. 938/1994-95

In the matter of : -

Ref : - Panun Kashmir Movement (PKM)

AFFIDAVIT

I, Ashwani Kumar S/o Late Shri Shyam Lal Chrungoo aged 40 years do hereby solemnly affirm and state as follows: -

1. I say that I am holding the post of Convener in the Complainant Organisation. I say that I am aware of the facts and circumstances of the case and I am also authorized to swear this Affidavit.
2. I say that I have read the accompanying rejoinder which has been drafted on my instructions. I say that the facts stated and averments made in the Rejoinder are true to my own knowledge derived also in part from the Report as also the additional documents.
3. I say that the photocopies of the documents filed with the Rejoinder are true copies of the original information collected from various sources like police/revenue/official/other records available with the Union of India and/or the State Government of Jammu and Kashmir.

Deponent (Signed)

VERIFICATION

I, the deponent above named, do hereby verify that the facts stated in my Affidavit above are true to own knowledge.

Verified at New Delhi

This 27th day of January, 1998.

SEAL

(Ashwani Kumar Chrungoo)
Deponent

(Ashwani Kumar Chrungoo)
Deponent

**BEFORE THE NATIONAL HUMAN RIGHTS COMMISSION
NEW DELHI**

In the Matter of : Case No. 938/94-95

**Panun Kashmir Movement
and others**

**Versus
State of Jammu & Kashmir**

: Respondent

and

In the matter of : Reply on behalf of the
Govt. of Jammu & Kashmir

I N D E X

<u>S.No.</u>	<u>Particulars</u>	<u>Page No.</u>
1.	<u>Objections</u>	<u>1 to 5</u>

Counsel for the
Government of Jammu & Kashmir

(S.A. Salaria)
Advocate General

27th Jan, 1998

BEFORE THE NATIONAL HUMAN RIGHTS COMMISSION
NEW DELHI

In the Matter of :
Panun Kashmir Movement
and others

Case No. 938/94-95

Versus
State of Jammu & Kashmir
: Respondent

and

In the matter of :

Reply on behalf of the
Govt. of Jammu & Kashmir

May it please your Lordships,

The submissions on behalf of the Respondent – Government of Jammu and Kashmir most respectfully submitted as under:

1. That the Respondent – State of Jammu and Kashmir adopts the reply to the complaint already submitted by the Union of India to the Commission. In addition, the Respondent – State of Jammu and Kashmir respectfully submitted as under:
That in view of the fact that the State of Jammu and Kashmir has enacted the Jammu and Kashmir Protection of Human Right Act, 1997, the above titled complaints in this Hon'ble Commission is not maintainable now.
2. That this Hon'ble Commission has been established under Protection of Human Right Act, 1993 which specifically provides in Clause (1) as under:
“Short Title, Extent and commencement”
 - (i) This Act may be called the Protection of Human Rights Act, 1993.

- (ii) It extends to the whole of India. Provided that it shall apply to the State of Jammu and Kashmir only in so far as it pertains to the matters relatable to any of the entries enumerated in List (1) or List (iii) in the seventh schedule to the Constitution as applicable to that State.

That, therefore the Jurisdiction extends to the State of J&K only in so far as it pertains to the matters related to any of the entries enumerated in List (i) or List (III) in the seventh schedule to the Constitution as applicable to the State of Jammu and Kashmir, Taking the said entries in to consideration, it is clear that the complaints do not lie in this Commission.

3. That none of the complainants is a sole representative body of all Kashmiri Pandits. There are many other organisations of Kashmiri Pandits, claiming to represent them, therefore the complaint submitted by the complainant cannot be regarded to be on behalf of all the Kashmiri Pandits.
4. That the State has taken and is taking all steps within its powers also with the aid and assistance of the Govt. of India to provide security, financial assistance, jobs, educational opportunities and facilities, compensations, doles, rations etc. to the Kashmiri Pandits and is doing and shall continue to do all it can to facilitate their return to the Valley for which conducive conditions have come up.
- To recapitulate it is submitted that in 1947-49, 1965-66, 1971-72 & 1997 thousands of Paharies, Dogras, Gujars and Telis suffered from terrorism, turmoils and migrations in the State and therefore had to be provided succour, reliefs and refuge. They however nevertheless braved all odds and returned back to their homes where they are since living in their respective areas.
5. That the reliance placed by the Complainant on the recently enacted Jammu and Kashmir Migrants stay of Proceedings Act. 1997 is not tenable. It is respectfully submitted that similar ordinances followed by an Act had to be promulgated in the State of J&K called 'The Jammu and Kashmir Evacuees Administration of Property Act. 2006', whereby there has been imposed a ban on sale of properties

of others than the complainants affected by the acts of terrorism and migration. That Act is still in force. However, the affected people have in large numbers returned back and settled on their properties. That is being stated to emphasise that abnormal condition such as militancy may be engineered by some in the history of any people. But any demand opposed to the basic nature of the constitution of country and its secular character may do more harm than good to the country by being precursor to further division and

6. That nearly thirty thousand of Hindus, Sikhs and Christians and Bodhs are also living and working in the valley of Kashmir. There is no communal tension there. The prayer of the complainant is not tenable. It is respectfully submitted that while the Govt. of Jammu & Kashmir adopts the prayer made by the Government of India to the said complaint it would submit most humbly that the militancy in the State has lost its force in the cities and the major towns and is dying out in the rural areas. Recurrences of clashes between armed infiltrators from across and the security forces on the borders and elsewhere cannot be pressed into service. Moreover a representative Govt. has been in office for over 1½ years now and elections to the six Lok Sabha seats from the State are being conducted. The Petitioner complainants are being provided relief, doles, residences, education facilities and salaries also.

27th Jan 98

**State of J&K
Through
Counsel
Advocate General
J&K State**

F.No. 9/58/95 – LD
NATIONAL HUMAN RIGHTS COMMISSION
(Law Division)

S.K. Srivastava.
Asstt. Registrar (Law)
Phone: 2261611
Fax: 3340016

Sardar Patel Bhavan
Sandad Marg
New Delhi – 110001.

Case Numbers

1. 938/94-95
2. 802/94-95
3. 3217/95-96
4. 1181/94-95
5. 782/96-97
6. 1202/94-95

Dated 15 June, 1998.

To

**Shri Ashwani Kumar,
Convenor, Panun Kashmir Movement,
Ram Vihar,
Jammu – 180007.**

Subject: - Memorandum submitted by the Panun Kashmir Movement/Panun Kashmir Organisation (Kashmiri Pandits) International Human Rights Protection Council, Jammu/All India Kashmiri Samaj, New Delhi/All India Kashmiri Displaced Employees Forum, New Delhi/All Displaced Employees Forum, Jammu.

Sir,

The above matter came up for hearing before the Court of the Commission on 27th May, 1998. When the Union of India through its Counsel filed a written Statement to clarify its stand on the issues of jurisdiction of the Commission, the Commission thereafter directed to list the matter for hearing before the Court on the 16th July, 1998 at 3 PM.

You are therefore requested to be represented before the Court of the Commission on the 16th July, 1998 at 3 P.M. at Commission's office at Sardar Patel Bhavan, New Delhi – 110001.

A copy of the Written Statement filed on behalf of the Union of India is enclosed herewith for your information and necessary action.

Yours faithfully,

Sd/-
Asstt. Registrar (Law)

BEFORE THE NATIONAL HUMAN RIGHTS COMMISSION

IN THE MATTER OF :-

CASE NO. 938/94-95
CASE NO. 802/94-95
CASE NO. 3217/95-96
CASE NO. 1181/94-95

**AND IN THE MATTER OF:
PANUN KASHMIR MOVEMENT & OTHERS:**

I N D E X

SL. NO.	PARTICULARS	PAGE NO.	COURT FEE
1.	Written submissions on behalf of Union of India with regard to the issue of jurisdiction of this Hon'ble Commission.		
	1-12		

Through

(A.K. Vali)
Central Govt. Standing Counsel,
462, Lawyers' Chambers,
Delhi High Court,
New Delhi.

BEFORE THE NATIONAL HUMAN RIGHTS COMMISSION

CASE NO. 938/94-95
CASE NO. 802/94-95
CASE NO. 3217/95-96
CASE NO. 1181/94-95

Written Statement
On
Behalf of Union of India

The Union of India states and submits as under: -

1. The Union of India has been directed to file the written statement in view of objection raised by the State of Jammu and Kashmir as to the jurisdiction of the Commission to enquire into the several complaints lodged by different organizations.
2. The Government of J&K in the reply dated 27.01.1998 in para 1 raised the objection on account of the fact of having enacted Jammu and Kashmir Protection of Human Rights Act 1997 and para 2, it is urged that in view of proviso to sub-section (2) of Section 1 that jurisdiction of the Commission pertains only to the matters relatable to entries enumerated in List I or III in the Seventh Schedule.
In any event, the State of J&K has passed the Jammu and Kashmir Protection of Human Rights Act 1997 and, therefore, the jurisdiction vests exclusively in the J&K State Commission.
3. As the extended title of the Protection of Human Rights Act, 1993 Act says, it is "An Act to provide for the constitution of a National Human Rights Commission and State Human Rights Commission in States and Human Right Courts for better protection of human rights and for matters connected therewith or incidental thereto".

4. As per the duties assigned to the National Commission by Section 12, the Commission shall enquire "suo moto" or petition to it by a victim or any person on his behalf into complaint of

- (i) Violation of human rights or abetment thereof;
- (ii) Negligence in the prevention of such violation by a public servant.

Thereupon, under the provisions of Section 18, the Commission may recommend initiation of proceedings for prosecution or such other action as the Commission may deem fit against the concerned person or persons.

The Commission may recommend to the concerned Government or authority for grant of any immediate interim relief [sub-section (3) and recommendation to the concerned Government [Sub-Section (5)].

5. So, primary issue is the enquiry into the violation of the human rights, abetment thereof and negligence in the prevention of such violation. The prosecution is an incident and relief is connected thereto.
6. The Union of India has filed its comprehensive reply dated 19.12.1997.
7. At the cost of repetition, it may be said that the points on which the reply is submitted by the Union of India are: -
- a) Designation;
 - b) Whether there is genocide;
 - c) Whether the matter is referable to International Court of Justice.
8. As to the designation, it was urged that the word 'Migrant' was the fit one.
9. As to whether there is genocide, it was answered in negative.
10. As to whether there is room, whether the matter is to be referred to International Court of Justice, the answer was in the negative.
11. On merits, answer was given as to what steps were taken in as much as the complaint was that the applicants were forced to leave the place on account of militancy and terrorist activities.

12. Application of the Protection of Human Rights Act 1993 in respect of State of Jammu and Kashmir is to be determined in the light of proviso to sub-section (2) of Section 1 and then second proviso to sub-section (5) of Section 21 of the Act.
13. As per proviso to sub-section (2) of Section 1, the Central Act will apply only in so far as it pertains to the matters relatable to any of the entries enumerated in List I or List III in the Seventh Schedule to the Constitution, as applicable to that State. The powers given to the State Commission as per sub-section (5) of Section 21 are in respect of enquiry into violation of human rights in respect of any matters relatable to entries enumerated in List III of the Seventh Schedule to the Constitution and in respect of matters in relation to which the legislature of the State of Jammu and Kashmir has power to make laws.
14. Section 5 of the Jammu and Kashmir Constitution reads:
“The executive and legislative power of the State extends to all matters except those with respect to which Parliament has power to make laws for the State under the provisions of the Constitution of India.”
15. The provisions of the Constitution of India, in its application to the State of Jammu and Kashmir, are specified in Constitution (Application to J&K) Order, 1954. This Order, which is of 1954, has been amended from time to time. In the Constitution, there are two Articles which demarcate the field of legislation between the Parliament and the States. They are Articles 245 and 248, the last being residual. There is another List I of Schedule 7, namely Entry 97, according to which any other matter not enumerated in List II or List III falls within the purview of the Parliament. But these entries are not source of legislative powers. As per 1954 Order, Article 248 as well as Entry 97 of List I were deleted. However, in the subsequent amendment, there have been changes which are material.
16. As per Constitutional Order No. 93 of 1972, 06.05.1972 in Article 248, following amendment was made:
Parliament has exclusive power to make any law with respect to:

- (a) prevention of activities directed towards disclaiming, questioning or disrupting the sovereignty and territorial integrity of India or bringing about cession of a part of the territory of India or secession of a part of the territory of India from the Union or causing insult to the
- (b) Correspondingly, same wording was introduced for Entry 97, say, "for Entry 97, the following entry shall be substituted": same as -(a).

17. Subsequently, in the year 1985, by a Constitutional Order No.122 (w.e.f. 04.06.1985), the following changes were made:

"Entry 97 – Prevention of activities

- (a) involving terrorist acts directed towards overawing the Government as by law established or striking terror in the people or any section of the people or alienating any section of the people or adversely affecting the harmony amongst different sections of the people;
- (b) directed towards disclaiming, questioning or disrupting the sovereignty and territorial integrity of India or bringing about cession of a part of the territory of India from the Union or

Explanation: In this Entry, 'terrorist act' has the same meaning as in the Explanation to Article 248.

In Article 248, the wording which was given by Constitutional Order No.93 of 1972 was changed as (aa) and a new entry was added as (a) which runs with the same wording as in Entry 97(a). At the beginning of the earlier entry introduced in 1972, the following words were introduced:

"Prevention of other activities."

An explanation was added in the following terms:

"In this Article, 'terrorist act' means any act or thing by using bombs, dynamite or other explosive substances or firearms or other lethal weapons or poisons or noxious gases or other chemicals or any other substances (whether biological or otherwise of a hazardous nature."

18. The Terrorist and Disruptive Activities (Prevention) Act 1987, Section 1(2) as initially framed was not applicable to Jammu and Kashmir but later on, that portion was excluded. Section 1(2) of the said Act says, "it applied to whole of India". There is no reservation in respect of the State of Jammu and Kashmir. The "terrorist act" has the meaning as defined in Section 3. The phraseology is the same as contained in Article 248 as quoted above. Section 4 deals with punishment of disruptive activities. The working "disruptive activities", as per sub-section (2) is just in the same lines as introduced by Constitutional Order of 1972.
- The discussion is found in the decision of the Constitution Bench in the case of Kartar Singh vs. State of Punjab (1994) 3 SCC 569.
19. It may be pertinent to take note of judgement of the Supreme Court in the matter of Ramkrishna Dalmia vs. Justice Tendolkar (AIR 1958 sc 538 = 1959 scr 897) in which the provisions of the Commission of Enquiry Act 1952 fell for consideration to the State of J&K, but later, the same was extended to the State of J&K.
- The dispute was in respect of State of Karnataka where the Central Government had appointed a Commission to enquire into the acts of the Chief Minister of the State of Karnataka.
20. Without going into the details, the Supreme Court, based on the wording of Entry 45 of List II and gave the answer in affirmative, namely that the Central Government had power to appoint an enquiry commission, even though it related to the acts of the Chief Minister of a State.
- Entry 45 of List III reads:
- Inquiries and statistics for the purposes of any of the matters specified in List II or List III.
- The Entry therefore was very wide compared to entry 94 of List I as it permitted enquiry for the purposes of any matters specified in List II or List III.

21. That Judgement is not of any assistance because as far as State of Jammu and Kashmir is concerned, the adaptation Order of 1954, Entry 94 of List I stands omitted and Entry 45 of List III stands modified and the Entry is confined to List III only.
22. It is apposite to take note of the amendments introduced in the Commission of Enquiry Act 1952:

Definitions – In this Act, unless the context otherwise requires,

(a) “appropriate Government” means

- (i) the Central Government, in relation to a Commission appointed by it to make an inquiry into any matter relatable to any of the entries enumerated in List I or List II or List III in the Seventh Schedule to the Constitution; and
- (ii) the State Government, in relation to a Commission appointed by it to make an inquiry into any matter relatable to any of the entries enumerated in List II or List III in the Seventh Schedule to the Constitution:

[Provided that in relation to the State of Jammu and Kashmir, this clause shall have effect subject to the modification that-

- (a) in sub-clause (i) thereof, for the words and figures “List I or List II or List III in the Seventh Schedule to the Constitution as applicable to the State of Jammu and Kashmir” shall be substituted;
- (b) in sub-clause (ii) thereof, for the words and figures “List II or List III in the Seventh Schedule to the Constitution”, the words and figures “List III in the Seventh Schedule to the State of Jammu and Kashmir” shall be substituted.]

There are some other cognate Acts, but, they are not relevant, firstly because Enquiry for Statistic Act 1957 (which is not applicable to the State of J&K) and other is Judges Enquiry Act of 1968 which is all India based.

23. In the Commission of Enquiry Act 1952, after the amendment, while dealing with powers of the Central Government, definition 2(a)(1) is more or less similar to that of proviso to sub-section (2) of Section 2 of 1994 Act, but the 2nd proviso to sub-section (5) of Section 21 stands a little different form in as much as it contains additional words which are as follows:

“and in respect of matters in relation to which the Legislature of that State has power to make laws”.

In other words, Parliament has validly enacted law empowering the State Commission to enquire into human rights violations not only in respect of matters relatable to List III, but also in respect of matters in relation to which the Legislature of that State has power to make laws.

24. The purpose of Protection of Human Rights Act, 1993 as it was said before, is for better protection of human rights and for matters connected therewith or incidental thereto.

25. The Supreme Court in the case of Francis C. Muslin Vs. Administrator, Union Territory of Delhi (1981) 1 SCC 608:1981 SCC (Cri) 212 held that:

“It is the fundamental right of everyone in this Country, assured under the interpretation given to Article 21 by this Court in Francis Mullin case to live with human dignity, free from exploitation. This right to live with human dignity enshrined in Article 21 derives its life breath from the Directive principles of State Policy and particularly clauses (e) and (f) of Article 39...”

The same principle was then followed in the case of Bandhua Mukti Morcha vs. Union of India 1984(3) SCC. 161 at para 10 again in the case of Olga Tellis vs. Bombay Municipal Corporation 1985(3) SCC 545 at pages 571 to 573, paragraph 32 and 33, it was held that:

“Article 39(a) of the Constitution, which is a Directive Principle of State Policy, provides that the State shall, in particular, direct its policy towards securing that the citizens, men and women equally, have the right to an adequate means of livelihood. Article 41, which is another Directive Principle, provides, inter alia, that the State shall, within the limits of its economic capacity and development, make effective provision for securing the right to work in cases of unemployment and of undeserved want. Article 37 provides that the Directive Principles, though not enforceable by any court, are nevertheless fundamental in the governance of the Country. The Principles contained in Articles 39(a) and 41 must be regarded as equally fundamental in the understanding and interpretation of the meaning and content of Fundamental Rights. If there is an obligation upon the State to there is an obligation upon the State to secure to the citizens an adequate means of livelihood and the right to work, it would be sheer pedantry to exclude the right to livelihood from the content of the right of life. The State may not, by affirmative action, be compellable to provide adequate means of livelihood or work to the citizens. But, any person, who is deprived of his right to livelihood except according to just and fair procedure established by law, can challenge the deprivation as offending the right to life conferred by Article 21”.

26. There is no prohibition for the State (Parliament as well as State Legislature) by way of affirmative action to take measures for better protection of human rights. This flows from Article 21 read with Article 39 of the Constitution. In its application of the Constitution to J&K Article 21 as well as Article 39 are attracted.
27. The power of Parliament to legislate is not confined to the subjects falling in Entry of List I and III only. There are number of provisions in the Constitution which empower the Parliament to enact the laws like Articles 2, 3, 11. There are other

provisions which permit Parliament as well as State to legislate on the subjects like 39 to 51, 51 to 265, besides List II or List III.

28. The legislation of Human Rights Commission under Section 21 read with 39(a) in general and List I, Entry 97 in particular.
29. But, for the State of J&K, the situation is little different. If there is violation of human rights relatable to entries not falling within List I or III, the power will vest in the State Commission to enquire about the same.
30. This is the only harmonious construction. To say that as for State of J&K, the Commission has right to enquire into violation of human rights relatable to entries of List II would have the effect of nullifying the proviso to sub-section (2) of Section (1) of 1994 Act. Similarly speaking, if there is violation of human rights in the matters relatable to entries on which the State can legislate, they will fall out side the purview of National Commission.
31. But in the instant case considering the acts complained of that question does not arise and, as stated at the beginning, the National Commission will have the jurisdiction to make enquiry into the complaint whether or not the applicants would succeed to establish their claim is a different point.
32. The preliminary objection, therefore, is not tenable.

Union of India
through

(A.K. Vali)
Central Government Standing Counsel
Chamber no.462
Delhi High Court
New Delhi

**TERM VIOLENCE AGAINST KPs AS GENOCIDE,
PALLONE URGES NHRC**

Democratic Congressman Franke Pallone has urged India's National Human Rights Commission (NHRC) to term the violence against the Pandits in Kashmir as "genocide" reconsidering its recent ruling rejecting such a request by the community leaders and their supporters.

In a statement in the House of Representatives, Mr. Pallone said he along with fellow lawmakers and leaders of the community, had pleaded for describing the treatment meted out to the Pandits in the trouble-torn state as genocide.

He also wanted the NHRC to reconsider its other decision rejecting the demand to define the Pandits as an Internally Displaced People (IDP).

He, however, said the Commission did acknowledge that the Pandits had been "victims of killings and ethnic cleansing, as part of the militants' campaign to get Kashmir to secede from India".

Mr. Pallone said that the Commission had recently set up a committee comprising its nominee and representatives of the Jammu and Kashmir Government and the community – to address Pandits' concerns which had yet not met.

Mr. Pallone said, "I am asking my colleagues to join me in signing a letter to the NHRC asking that the decisions of genocide and IDP be reconsidered, and that the new committee begin regular meetings."

"While it is predominantly Hindus who are the victims of these attacks, we have also seen attacks against Muslim residents of Jammu and Kashmir who have dared to assist the legitimate State authorities in putting a halt to the violence. This is the true face of the insurgency in Kashmir", he added.

He said the militants had transformed a peaceful, secular state in India, one which happened to have a predominantly Muslim population, into a "killing field, as part of the goal of turning the state into an area under strict Islamic rule."

He said that Pakistan had now apparently agreed to withdraw its fighters who had crossed onto India's side of the Line of Control. "I hope that the world community will finally focus on the long-ignored plight of the Kashmiri Pandits." (UNI) March ,1999

* * *

CASE No. 938/94-95/NHRC
CASE No. 1181/94-95/NHRC
NATIONAL HUMAN RIGHTS COMMISSION
(LAW DIVISION)

S.K.Srivastava
Asstt. Registrar (Law)
Phone No. 3361671
Fax No. 3366537

Sardar Patel Bhavan
Sansad Marg
New Delhi – 110001

Dated 14-06-1999

To

Shri Ashwani Kumar Chrungoo,
Convenor, Panun Kashmir Movement,
232, Ram Vihar, Old Janipur,
Jammu (J&K)

Sub: - Memorandum submitted by Panun Kashmir Movement and All India
Kashmiri Samaj, New Delhi.

Sir,

I am directed to forward herewith a copy of the order pronounced by the Commission
on 11.06.1999 in the above said matter.

Encl, as above

Yours faithfully,

Asstt. Registrar (Law)

**NATIONAL HUMAN RIGHTS COMMISSION
SARDAR PATEL BHAVAN
NEW DELHI**

CASE No. 938/94-95/NHRC

CASE No. 1181/94-95/NHRC

Name of the Complainants

**Panun Kashmir Movement
&
All India Kashmiri Samaj**

QUORUM :

**JUSTICE SHRI M.N. VENKATACHALIAH, CHAIRPERSON
JUSTICE SHRI V.S. MALIMATH, MEMBER
SHRI VIRENDRA DAYAL, MEMBER**

Genocide: the Ultimate Crime

1. Referring to the Holocaust in his concluding speech before the International Military Tribunal at Nuremberg, the French Prosecutor, Champetier de Ribes, stated: "this was a crime so monstrous, so undreamt of in history.....that the term 'genocide' had to be coined to define it".
2. The term was devised by Professor Raphael Lemkin and first used in his work Axis Rule in Occupied Europe – (1944). It was constructed from the Greek word 'genos' meaning 'race' or 'tribe' and the Latin word 'cide' meaning killing.
3. So fearful are the connotations of the term that Benjamin Whitaker, who served as the Special Rapporteur of the United Nations Sub-commission on the Prevention of Discrimination and Protection of Minorities and who authored an authoritative report on this subject (UN document E/CN.4/Sub.2/1985/6) was compelled to observe:

“Genocide is the ultimate crime and greatest violation of human rights”. He added the somber warning:

“Genocide is a constant threat to peace, and it is essential to exercise the greatest responsibility when discussing a subject so emotive”.

4. The Commission has had to be deeply conscious of these and similar observations that underline the enormity of the crime of genocide – its “ultimate” character and its profoundly emotive quality – while considering the complaints brought before it by the Panun Kashmir Movement(PKM) and the All India Kashmiri Samaj, both of which organizations have asserted that the Hindu population of the Valley of Kashmir, namely the Kashmiri Pandits, have been the victims of genocide.

Complaint of Panun Kashmir Movement

5. The complaint of the Panun Kashmir Movement was first brought to the attention of the Commission in a Memorandum dated 7 March 1994. It was then elaborated in a detailed Memorandum which was presented to the Commission in Jammu on 7 June 1994. The latter Memorandum made the request that the Commission investigate the violations of the human rights of the Hindu minority of Kashmir, the negligence in the prevention of such violations by public servants and institutions of Government, and the acts of terrorism that inhibited the enjoyment of human rights by this community.
6. The Memorandum made the assertion that “terrorism in Jammu and Kashmir is a process of political violence, which has specific political commitments aimed to separate Jammu and Kashmir from India and annex it to Pakistan”(sic). It added that “terrorist violence in Kashmir is a religious crusade to force a second partition on

India” and to Islamize the State” “in order to separate the State from the secular political and social organisation of India and integrate it with the Islamic State of Pakistan”.

7. Proceeding, the Memorandum stated that “the terrorist organizations in the State and those operating in Pakistan have unleashed an organized campaign to exterminate the Hindus in Kashmir”. It argued that these acts amounted to genocide under the terms of the 1948 Convention on the Prevention and Punishment of the Crime of Genocide (hereinafter referred to as the Genocide Convention). The Memorandum then observed that “the mass attack on the Hindus began in January 1990, and by the onset of August 1990 more than eight hundred of them had been murdered in cold blood. Most of the victims were innocent people who lived in poverty.. Among those killed were people from all sections of society, lawyers, political activists, media men, intellectuals, shopkeepers and men of small means. The genocide of Hindus continues still and by now more than a thousand Hindus have been liquidated”.
8. Continuing, the Memorandum asserts that “the terrorist killings have been accompanied by torture” and that this was “tantamount to grave crimes against all laws and against humanity”. The methods of torture employed by the terrorists are listed and specific names and instances of those killed after severe torture are illustratively provided in respect of some dozen cases.
9. The Memorandum then turns to the “ethnic cleansing” of Hindus which, it states, “has been carried out in accordance with a well-designed plan”, including the preparation of “hit-lists” which were even published in newspapers or displayed as wall-posters. Rumours were also spread regarding the “deep involvement of Hindus in espionage for the Government of India”. In these circumstances, the “instinctive reaction of the Hindus condemned to die, was to leave their homes”.

The Memorandum states that the organized campaign to compel the Hindus to leave was launched in January 1990.

10. The Memorandum then refers to the demolition of 102 temples over the preceding five years and the usurpation of temple lands and buildings. The Memorandum thereafter speaks of the loss and destruction of property, stating that 16,000 houses belonging to Hindus had been burnt down and looted over the same period.
11. Invoking various Human Rights Covenants and Conventions to which India is a party, including the Genocide Convention, the Memorandum concludes that the Union of India and the State of Jammu and Kashmir have been guilty of "wilful default to provide security" to the Hindu community of the Valley and "wilful default to provide help" to them. The Memorandum further asserts that the community has been subjected to discrimination in matters relating to employment and education and asks for various forms of relief in matters relating to these issues, including an end to what it describes as the "apartheid" of students belonging to this community.
12. A third Memorandum from the Panun Kashmir Movement was handed to the Commission on 5 October 1995, which was followed, on 20 December 1995 by a further and, once again, detailed Memorandum on the experiences of the community. That Memorandum traverses the ground under three broad headings: Genocide, Exodus and Apartheid, recapitulating, reorganizing and elaborating upon the data provided in earlier memoranda. In particular, additional data was provided on temples and shrines desecrated or destroyed over the centuries and particularly, since 1986. Details were also given of the circumstances in which the "exodus" occurred. In particular, the Memorandum outlines incidents which in the perception of the Kashmiri Pandits, led to the terrorists gaining an ascendancy over the State. Statistical data was also provided in respect of properties destroyed or abandoned and the religion-wise breakdown of the various communities in Jammu and Kashmir since

1981. An annex to the Memorandum then stated that "the total number of displaced Kashmiri Hindus in 1989-90 was approximately 3 lakhs besides an equal number of the members of the community who were forced to leave earlier from 1947 to 1989 due to various reasons plus earlier displaced, making a total of 7 lakh members of the community scattered throughout the country and abroad" (sic).

13. The Memorandum provides data regarding the physical and psychological ailments affecting the community, including psychological and behavioural problems – especially those afflicting the family as a unit because of overcrowding and want of privacy in the camps. It is stated that these problems had resulted in a decline in the birth rate of the community.
14. As regards the All India Kashmiri Samaj, its original complaint was contained in a letter of 13 June 1994 from Shri Makhanlal Kaul to the Commission. That letter referred to "systematic discrimination" on sectarian and communal grounds against the Kashmiri Pandits, to "socio-cultural, religious and economic insecurities and inequalities" affecting them, to the failure and apathy of Government to protect them since 1989, to the need of some 300,000 Kashmiri Pandits to seek refuge elsewhere, "as well as thousands of us seeking refuge as Kashmiris who are also Muslims and Sikhs". The letter refers to "tens of thousands" of homes looted and "9000 structures torched, hundreds killed brutally and scores of others missing, bodily dismembered, kidnapped, raped, critically injured". Reference is also made to the desecration of temples; it is observed that the percentage of Hindus in the Valley declined from 15% in 1941 to 5% in 1981 and 0.1% in 1991. The letter then asserts that the community had been the victim of genocide and terrorism. It refers to the "assassination of Hindus and some patriotic Muslims too", as also to torture, abduction and forced exodus from the Valley. The letter states that the Kashmiri Pandits had been "vilified" by a "campaign of disinformation" to cover-up the "fundamentalistic character of the so-called freedom struggle" which was, in reality, a religious crusade "for a separate

independent State to complete the partition of India by annexing Kashmir for Pakistan”, the dimension of “Jehad” being added to justify the extermination of the Hindus.

15. The letter annexes the names of 17 prominent Kashmiri Pandits who had been killed, including advocates, judges, scientists, journalists, government officials, intellectuals and poets, teachers and social activists.
16. On 29 September 1994, the Commission issued notice to the Chief Secretary, Jammu and Kashmir calling for a report on the matters contained in the complaints. The complaint from the all India Kashmiri Samaj, No.1181/94-95/NHRC, was also clubbed together with Case No.938/94-95 viz., the complaint of the Panun Kashmir Movement.

Response of the State Government of Jammu & Kashmir

17. The response of the State Government dated 8 July 1995 underlined the close involvement of the militants with Pakistan, where they were being trained. The response took the view that the acts of large scale killing, arson, rape and kidnapping in which the militants were engaged was aimed at “liquidating the Indian support structure in the State, involving the elimination of people of all communities including Muslims who constitute such support structure”. The response added that the militants sought to suppress political dissent and create fear and terror, and that they sought the liquidation of the civilian population which extends help to the security forces in their operations against terrorists. The response asserted that the selective killing of Kashmiri Pandits added a “second dimension” to terrorism in the State, as did forcing the Kashmiri Pandits to leave the Valley.

18. The data provided by the State Government listed, inter alia, the damage and destruction caused by militants. In regard to places of worship destroyed between 1990 and 1994, it stated that 93 temples, 27 mosques and 2 gurudwaras had been destroyed. It added that the number of Hindus, Muslims and Sikhs killed by militants between 1990 and June 1995 were 508, 2849 and 42 respectively. The response expressed the view that the Hindu community had been targeted as part of a design to communalize the State, but that the militants had shown no regard for any community, all having suffered at their hands.
19. As regards movement from the Valley, the response of the State Government stated that 43,363 Hindu families went to Jammu until 1991 and 28,713 such families went to Delhi; 5000-7000 Muslim families had also migrated. Between 1992-94, a further 49 Kashmiri Pandit families had left the Valley.

Treatment of Issues Concerning Relief Requested

20. Upon receipt of the complaints from the Panun Kashmir Movement, the All India Kashmiri Samaj and other Kashmiri Pandit organizations and individuals, the Commission concentrated, in the first instance, on seeking to make progress in respect of the various relief that had been sought in respect of issues such as conditions in the camps, cash benefits, pensions and work-related issues, employment and education facilities, questions relating to accommodation and health care. These efforts, which continue, and the result achieved, will not be detailed in the present proceedings, as they are the subject of separate orders and proceedings spread over a period of four years.

April – September Hearings in respect of Genocide

21. The present Proceedings will, instead, concentrate on the subject of genocide, to which matter the Commission reverted in a series of hearings held in May, June, August and September 1997 and February 1998 when, as occasion required, Shri P.N.Lekhi, Sr. Advocate of the Supreme Court appeared before the Commission on behalf of the Panun Kashmir Movement and Shri R.Venkataramani. Sr. Advocate, appeared as Counsel for the Commission; Shri A.K. Vali, Central Government Standing Counsel appeared for the Union of India as did Shri M.S. Usgaoncar, Addl. Solicitor General.

Response of the Union of India

22. The Commission issued notice to the Union of India on 19 June 1997 to obtain its reaction to the complaints before it. A detailed response was filed on 20 October 1997. It acknowledged that, “due to targeted attacks by the militants against innocent civilians in the early years of the ongoing terrorist violence in Jammu and Kashmir, coupled with calls by fundamentalist terrorist groups to Kashmiri Pandits to leave the Valley, the vast majority of Kashmiri Pandits and other minority communities were forced to migrate”. It was added that “the situation was aided and abetted from across the border, with a specific aim to create a wedge and destroy the secular fabric of the State. In fact, as the applicants have themselves stated, their Muslim neighbours were also helpless in the situation created by this proxy war. But there are many number of families of Hindus and Sikhs who have continued to live in the Valley, both in towns and villages” (sic).
23. The response sought to explain the terminology used to describe the Kashmiri Pandits who had left the Valley as “migrants”, and gave details of the various reliefs being provided or contemplated for them. As those issues are not, however, relevant to the issue of genocide, they are not being dwelt upon in the present Proceedings.

24. Turning to the numbers of persons who had left the Valley, the response of the Union of India stated that 49,000 Hindu and Sikh families had been registered, as had 1,468 Muslim families been registered, with "a significant number of other Muslim families not having registered themselves due to fear of militant reprisals against their relatives in the Valley".
25. The response stressed that the ultimate aim of the Government was to ensure the safe and honourable return of all those who had left their homes and lands and further, to ensure that wherever homes had been destroyed or misappropriated, that these properties would be restored and rebuilt. The response referred, in this connection, to the Jammu and Kashmir Migrant Immovable Property (Preservation, Protection and Restriction on Distress Sales) Act, 1997 and other measures adopted to protect the interests of those who had to leave, and stressed the importance of the constitution of a Sub-Committee of Government to finalize "an action plan for the return of the migrants". It added that "much depended on the response of the migrants to reoccupy their homesteads.
26. The report then dwelt in detail on the steps being taken for the "normalization" of the situation to protect all citizens and to prevent the commission of offences, both through action against militants and through the better performance and coordination of activities of the civilian authorities and of the security forces. It categorically denied that the Government had "failed in its duties to secure the life, liberty and property of the citizens" referring, inter-alia, to the "multifaceted" fight against terrorism and the sacrifices made by the security forces in addition to civilians. It referred, in addition, to the holding of elections and the progress made thereafter in regard to security matters and developmental and relief schemes. It forwarded certain details of the relief and other measures taken to help the Kashmiri Pandits in matters

relating to employment and education and the ex-gratia payments made for those who had been killed as a result of the activities of militants.

27. As regards the competence of the National Human Rights Commission to examine the issue of genocide, the response of the Union of India stated that the 1993 Protection of Human Rights defined human rights in Sec. 2(1)(d) of the Act. These rights related to "life, liberty, equality and dignity of the individual guaranteed by the Constitution or embodied in the International Covenants and enforceable by the courts in India". Section 2(1)(f) of the Act further stated that "International Covenants" meant the "International Covenant on Civil and Political Rights and the International Covenant on Economic, Social and Cultural Rights of 1966". The response added that the Genocide Convention was not mentioned in Sec. 2(1)(d) or (f) of the Act "and therefore, no application can be entertained on the basis of the 1948 Convention by this Hon'ble Commission". It was further argued that the Genocide Convention dealt with the prevention and punishment of the crime of genocide and that it specifically required under Article V, that "the Contracting Parties undertake to enact, in accordance with their respective Constitutions, the necessary legislation to give effect to the provisions of the present Convention and in particular, to provide effective penalties for persons guilty of genocide or of any of the other acts enumerated in article III".
28. Turning to the question of killings in the Valley, the response of the Union of India referred to the charts appended to it. These indicated that between 1988-1997 a total of 16,850 persons had been killed. These, inter-alia, included 719 Hindus, 6219 Muslims, 45 Sikhs and 267 others, in addition to 7687 militants, and 1416 security force personnel. There had also been killings of 352 government officials, 15 senior political leaders, 110 politicians, 10 members of the judiciary and 10 pressmen. The large number of security personnel killed testified to the efforts of Government to redress the situation.

29. The charts also provided information on the "expenditures incurred on relief to the Kashmiri migrants in various States" between the years 1990-91 to 1996-97, which amounted to some Rs.26446 lakhs, the destruction of property by militants between 1988-1997, which included 1264 government buildings, 758 educational institutions, 9309 private houses, 243 bridges, 1659 shops and 9 hospitals; the vast number and types of weapons recovered from the militants over the years 1988-1997; the kidnappings by militants between 1988-1997 which totalled 2491 persons, of whom 1036 were killed, 20 foreigners were among the kidnapped. Further, criminal acts, extortions and lootings by militants were valued at Rs.10,61,29,466 between 1990-97. Other charts indicated the numbers of foreign mercenaries arrested/killed over this period; and the number of prominent Kashmiris kidnapped or killed, who belonged to a variety of professions and callings: politicians, the media, the judiciary, intellectuals, religious leaders, government officials and police personnel. Of the list of 157 such persons killed, kidnapped or injured over the period 1990-1997, 120 were Muslims and 37 were Hindus.

Rejoinders

30. A rejoinder was filed on 27 January 1998 by the Panun Kashmir Movement to the submission of the Union of India, the All India Kashmiri Samaj having filed its rejoinder on 19 November 1997.
31. In its rejoinder, the Panun Kashmir Movement traced the history of the Genocide Convention observing, inter alia, that the Government of India, among others, had inscribed the question of genocide on the agenda of the General Assembly on 2 November 1946 and that on 11 December 1946 the General Assembly had unanimously adopted resolution 96 which affirmed that genocide is a crime under international law, and requested the Economic and Social Council to undertake studies that would lead to the drafting of a Convention on the subject of genocide.

After recalling that the Genocide Convention had been unanimously adopted as resolution 260 (III) on 9 December 1948. The rejoinder noted that India had signed the Convention on 29 November 1949 and ratified it on 29 August 1959. Pakistan had, for its part, signed it on 11 December 1948 and ratified the Convention on 12 October 1957. It was added that the prohibition of genocide was now "well and truly" considered part of the Principles of Customary International Law, that Convention had clearly stated that genocide was a crime "whether committed in time of peace or in time of war". The rejoinder proceeded to refer to the definition of genocide in the Convention, as contained in article II of the Convention and the acts that would be punishable under article III of that Convention.

32. The rejoinder took the view that the Union of India had not refuted the views of the complainant in regard to the extent of death and damage caused to the Kashmiri Pandits. The rejoinder argued that the contention of the Union of India that the crime of genocide was not within the jurisdiction of this Commission was based on a misconception of the applicability of precepts of International Law. The rejoinder therefore reiterated its request to the Commission to "fix" the "responsibilities" in regard to human rights violations committed against the Kashmiri Pandits and to review the factors that inhibited that community from enjoying its human rights.
33. As regards the All India Kashmiri Samaj, its rejoinder stated that the submissions of the Union of India were self-contradictory and misconstrued in the 'interpretation of Laws and International Covenants'. It challenged the submission of the Union of India on a number of matters, including the use of the term "migrants" to describe those who had been forced to leave the Valley, and it questioned the comments of the Union of India in respect of matters relating to a number of relief and rehabilitation issues as well. It then proceeded to recall, reiterate and summarize once again the acts of killing, looting, and arson, and the reasons for the exodus as referred to in its original complaint. It added that the systematic killings of Kashmiri Pandits, the

causing of mental and physical disorders to them, the imposing of conditions to prevent/restrict their birth rate, and the organized terrorism unleashed to exterminate them; threatened to destroy and render extinct the Kashmiri Pandits as an ethnic-religious group.

Issue of NHRC's Jurisdiction in relation to Jammu & Kashmir

34. The rejoinders and other related papers were considered by the Commission on 27 January 1998. At that stage, the State of Jammu and Kashmir filed an affidavit raising issues relating to the jurisdiction of the Commission in respect of matters pertaining to law and order in the State of Jammu & Kashmir.
35. -----
36. Representing the Union of India and Shri M.A. Goni, Advocate General J&K representing the State of Jammu and Kashmir. The Commission had earlier requested Shri R.Venkataramani, Senior Advocate, to assist in respect of this matter. The Commission is most appreciative of his continuing assistance during the hearings held in May 1999. The Commission also listened with deep attention to Shri Rajinder Premi, one of the Petitioners, who spoke on this issue and more specifically, on the tragic circumstances attending the death of his revered father Shri Sarwanand Kaul Premi.

Comments of the Commission on the Crime of Genocide and its Opinion on the Complaints before it

37. The Commission will now examine certain aspects of the Genocide Convention and express its opinion on the complaints brought before it. It is necessary, first, to start with the definition of genocide as set out in Article II of the Convention, and the acts punishable under the Convention, which are set out in Article III.

(A) Definition and acts punishable under the Convention

Article II

“In the present Convention, genocide means any of the following acts committed with intent to destroy, in whole or in part, a national, ethnical, racial or religious group, as such:

- a) Killing members of the group;
- b) Causing serious bodily or mental harm to members of the group;
- c) Deliberately inflicting on the group conditions of life calculated to bring about its physical destruction in whole or in part;
- d) Imposing measures intended to prevent births within the group;
- e) Forcibly transferring children of the group to another group.

Article III

The following acts shall be punishable:

- a) Genocide;
- b) Conspiracy to commit genocide;
- c) Direct and public incitement to commit genocide;
- d) Attempt to commit genocide;
- e) Complicity in genocide.

(B) Illustrations of genocide after adoption of the Convention and the Implications thereof

- 38. The Holocaust was the archetypal genocide—6 million Jews being slain by Hitlerism. Tragically, even after the adoption of the Genocide Convention in 1948, this ancient scourge has continued to stain our century, the bloodiest in human history.
- 39. While varying lists have been made of genocides that have occurred after the Second World War, Benjamin Whitaker's authoritative study, cited in paragraph 3 above, lists as examples, inter alia, the Tutsi massacres of Hutu in Burundi in 1965 and 1972, the Paraguayan massacre of Ache Indians prior to 1974 and the Khmer Rouge killings

in Kampuchea between 1975 and 1978, when reportedly upto some 1 million persons were killed.

40. More recently, on 24 May 1994, the Secretary-General of the United Nations transmitted to the Security Council the Final Report of the Commission of Experts established pursuant to Security Council resolution 780 (1992), which contains
“substantive findings on alleged crimes of “ethnic cleansing”, genocide and other massive violations of the elementary dictates of humanity, rape and sexual assault and destruction of cultural property committed in various parts of Bosnia and Herzegovina” (UN Doc. S/1994/674 of 27 May 1994).
41. Further, on 9 December 1994, the Secretary-General of the United Nations transmitted to the Security Council the Final Report of the Commission of Experts established pursuant to Security Council resolution 935 (1994) on the conflict in Rwanda. The report concluded, inter alia, that “overwhelming evidence” existed
“to prove that acts of genocide against the Tutsi ethnic group were committed by Hutu elements in a concerted, planned, systematic and methodical way, in violation of article II of the Convention on the Prevention and Punishment of the Crime of Genocide 1948”.

While a number of “massacres” had been perpetrated in Rwanda in the last 45 years, particularly in the years 1959, 1963, 1973, 1990, 1991, 1992 and 1993 (the killings from December 1992 – February 1993 resulting in some 2000 people murdered), the Report states.

“Since 6 April 1994, an estimated 500,000 unarmed civilians have been murdered in Rwanda. That estimate indeed may err on the conservative side for, as the Special Rapporteur of the Commission of Human Rights observed

in his report of 28 June 1994 (S/1994/1157 annex I, para 2), some reliable estimates put the number of dead at close to 1 million. It is unlikely the world would even know the exact number of men, women and children slaughtered in this holocaust". (UN Doc S/1994/1405 29 December 1994).

42. The purpose of recalling these details is to illustrate the "ultimate" nature of the crime of genocide and the monstrous scale and intent of the crime that it constitutes. It is also to distinguish the crime of genocide from other crimes of utmost gravity, notably "homicide", "massacre", "ethnic cleansing" and yet other "crimes against humanity" such as those, for instance, that are listed as prohibited acts in article 5 of the Statute of the International Tribunal for the Prosecution of Persons Responsible for Serious Violations of International Humanitarian Law committed in the territory of former Yugoslavia and which include: "murder, extermination, enslavement, deportation, imprisonment, torture, rape, persecutions on political, racial and religious grounds and other inhumane acts" (S/1994/674 para 81).
43. In the context of "crimes against humanity" it is also relevant here to observe that the same kind of prohibited acts are listed in common article 3 (relevant to conflicts not of an international character) in the four Geneva Conventions of 1949 and in Protocol II to the Geneva Conventions.
44. What distinguishes genocide from the crimes against humanity listed above, however, is the intent to destroy, in whole or in part, a national, ethnical, racial or religious group, as such, which is a precondition for genocide.
45. To emphasize "intent" and the "ultimate" nature of the crime of genocide is not to diminish the gravity, the pain or the unacceptability of the other crimes mentioned above. But it is to recognize the difference of degree and purpose, which transforms the crime of genocide to a plane of evil that is unique, a scale of destroying that sets it apart from all other crimes.

(C) The Implications of “intent to destroy, in whole or in part”

46. The phrase “intent to destroy, in whole or in part” has been the subject of intense examination and commentary ever since the Genocide Convention was adopted. The reason, to some extent, lies in the construction of the phrase and, specifically, in how to interpret the relationship “intent to destroy” and “in whole or in part”.
47. Lawrence LeBlanc in his essay in the America Journal of International Law (Vol.78 page 370) quotes with approval the view of Nehemiah Robinson who, in his classic study on the Genocide Convention – Its Origins and Interpretation, reprinted in the 1950 Senate Hearings stated :
- “genocide is not characterized by the intent to destroy a whole group but to eliminate portions of the population marked by their racial, religious, national or ethnical features..... the intent to destroy a multitude of persons of the same group must be classified as genocide even if these persons constitute only part of a group either within a country or within a region or within a single community, provided the number is substantial because the aim of the Convention is to deal with action against large numbers, not individuals even if they happen to possess the same characteristics. It will be up to the court to decide in every case whether such intent existed” (emphasis added)
48. As to what the term “substantial” should mean in such a context, it has increasingly come to imply a “substantial part of a group of such numerical significance that the destruction or loss of that part would cause the destruction of the group as a viable entity”. (see for instance, S. EXEC.REP No.23, 94th Cong, 2nd Session (1976))

49. The Commission of Experts on Rwanda, for its part, asked the question—

“Does a particular minimum number of persons have to be killed for an act of genocide to be established in the individual case?” (see UN Doc. S/1994/1405 para 162)

Examining this question, it referred to the travaux préparatoires of the Genocide Convention and concurred with the opinion of Bunyan Bryant in his Substantative Scope of the Convention 16 HARV. INT’L L. J.686, 692 (1995) that

“Unless the intent were express..... the number of victims may be of evidentiary value with respect to proving the necessary intent”. (emphasis added)

50. As to the word “intent”, the Commission of Experts on the former Yugoslavia stated:

“It is the element of intent to destroy a designated group in whole or in part, which makes crimes of mass murder and crimes against humanity qualify as genocide. To be genocide within the meaning of the Convention, the crimes against a number of individuals must be directed at their collectivity or at them in their collective character or capacity. This can be deduced from the words “as such” stated in article II of the Convention. In most countries, penal codes do not regard motives, rather only intent, as the subjective or mental constituent element of a crime. Motive and intent may be closely linked, but motive is not mentioned in the Convention. The necessary element of intent may be inferred from sufficient facts. In certain cases, there will be evidence of actions or omissions of such a degree that the defendant may reasonably be assumed to have been aware of the consequences of his or her conduct, which goes to the establishment of intent, but not necessarily motive”. (see UN Doc. S/1994/674 para 97) (emphasis added)

51. A Convention must be interpreted in good faith, "in accordance with the ordinary meaning of its terms, in their context, and in the light of its object and purpose". Moreover, the text of a Convention must be interpreted in such a way that a reason and a meaning can be attributed to every word. "No word or provision may be disregarded or treated as superfluous, unless this is absolutely necessary to give effect to the terms read as a whole" (see Vienna Convention on the Law of Treaties, UN Treaty Series, vol. 1155, No. I-18232). In the light of the above, it is essential, at this point, to ask the meaning of the word "intent" and to distinguish it from "motive", the latter word not being used in the Genocide Convention.
52. The relevant entry in the Concise Oxford Dictionary for "intent" is "intention", "a purpose". For "motive" it is "factor or circumstance that induces a person to act in a particular way". These meanings, too, will need to be kept in mind when examining the present complaints.

(D) The Implications of the words "to destroy"

53. The Genocide Convention qualifies the words "to destroy" with great precision. The destruction must involve, or be conducive to direct or indirect physical destruction of a group or a substantial part of it, by the acts described in Article II of the Convention.
54. James Crawford, in his The Rights of People, Clarendon Press, Oxford, p 59, thus observes:

The Convention is not concerned with "cultural genocide" or what has been described as "ethnocide", in the sense of the destruction or disappearance of the distinctive values, tradition, or culture of a group, as distinct from the

survival of the members of the group as individuals, and its continued existence as a group assuming its members so wish". (emphasis added)

55. This view is borne out by the travaux preparatoires of the Convention. The original draft extending protection to political groups was, in the interest of quicker unanimity, eliminated. Original drafts also made reference to "cultural" genocide i.e. acts aimed at the destruction of libraries, museums, schools, historical monuments and religious edifices, or the suppression of language or printing media of a particular group. Russia, Venezuela and Pakistan strongly favoured the inclusion of "cultural" genocide. However, the stricter view of the United States of America, favoured also by the United Kingdom of Great Britain and Northern Ireland, prevailed (see ECOSOC Doc. No. E/623, at 11-13 (30 January 1948) and A/PV/170, at 15-16. 23-36). This, too, has relevance to the complaints before the Commission, as the issue of the destruction of temples, homes and property has been extensively referred to in them and is, thus, excluded from the purview of the Convention.
56. Further, it is important to note that the reference in the Convention to "imposing measures intended to prevent births within the group", specifically had in mind the savage eugenics practiced by the Nazis to sterilize or, through what has been called "delayed-genocide", destroy the capacity of their victims to reproduce. It had little to do with inadequate housing, or a lack of privacy in the camps – factors which have been mentioned in the present complaints as preventing births within the group.

(E) Further examination of the data relating to genocide in the complaints in the light of the above.

57. Having analyzed the principal words and usages in the Convention and having recalled the distinguishing characteristics of instances of genocide since the adoption of the Convention, these Proceedings will now further examine the question of genocide on the basis of the data contained in the complaints before the Commission.
58. There can be no doubt as to the immense suffering caused to the Kashmiri Pandit community by the acts of terrorists and militants active in the Valley of Kashmir, particularly in the period starting in the latter part of 1989. Whether the Commission looks to the data provided by the complainants, or to that provided by the State Government or the Union of India, the facts are, beyond question, stark and tragic, though there are some differences in the figures provided by the complainants and by the State and Union Governments, there is a general view that some 300,000 Kashmiri Pandits have had to leave the Valley for reasons of the terror unleashed in their home State and the conditions of insecurity that they experienced as a result. The complainants state that some 1000 members of their community have been killed in the Valley, they have drawn particular attention to the deaths that occurred following torture and to the killing of members of their leadership, some 17 of whom are mentioned by name. The State and Central Governments do not in any serious manner dispute the number of those who have had to leave the Valley, though they add that those who have left include both Sikh families and some 1500 Muslim families who had registered, though many other Muslim families had feared to do so for fear of reprisals against their relatives. As to the number of Kashmiri Pandits killed, the Union Government mentions that 719 Hindus were killed between 1988-97, in a total of 16,850 killed during this period, which included 6,219 Muslims. The list of 157 "leaders" that it provided as having been killed in the Valley during this period included, by the same token, 37 Hindus as against 120 Muslims.

59. These figures are profoundly disturbing and tragic. Yet they do raise the question of the 'intent' of the killers responsible for the deaths and the large-scale and forced movement of population.
60. The complainants themselves have referred to terrorism in Jammu and Kashmir as "a process of political violence", which has "a specific political commitment aimed to separate Jammu and Kashmir from India and annex it to Pakistan". They have added that the purpose of the "terrorist violence" was to "separate the State from the secular political and social organisation of India and integrate it with the Islamic State of Pakistan". The complaint of the All India Kashmiri Samaj, for its part, notes "the assassination of Hindus and some patriotic Muslims too". The figures provided by the Union Government show that both groups suffered grievous killings, with many more thousand killed by the militants of the latter group.
61. In these circumstances, it appears to this Commission, from the most careful reading of all of the submissions made to it, that the primary "intent" of the killers of both Hindus and Muslims in the Valley has been to try to achieve the secession of the State and its possible annexation by Pakistan. This has been the principal purpose and the objective of the insurgency, of the terrorism and of the war-by-proxy that has been plaguing Jammu & Kashmir over the past decade. It has been to achieve this purpose, that the killers have been motivated to murder those whom that they have so sadly and numerously killed, those whom they viewed as loyal to the Republic of India.
62. The Commission is therefore of the view that the killings and "ethnic cleansing" of the Kashmiri Pandits must be seen in the context of the deeper intent to secure the secession of the State of Jammu & Kashmir. The crimes committed against the Kashmiri Pandit are, by any yardstick, deserving of the strongest condemnation. And there can be no gainsaying the acute suffering and deprivation caused to the

community. But against the stern definition of the Genocide Convention, the Commission is constrained to observe that while acts akin to genocide have occurred in respect of the Kashmiri Pandits and that, indeed, in the minds and utterances of some of the militants a 'genocide-type design' may exist, (to quote a term used earlier by the Former Dutch Foreign Minister, Max van der Stoep in a different context and situation), the crimes against the Kashmiri Pandits, grave as they undoubtedly are, fall short of the "ultimate" crime: Genocide.

63. The community, though severely stricken with loss and grief, is to the immense relief of its well-wishers capable of recovery. Though it has lost some leading members of the community, it is not destroyed in "substantial" part. It is deep in resilience and talent and those who have caused it injury have not succeeded in the "destruction of the group as a viable entity". In the view of this Commission the day will therefore undoubtedly come, hopefully in the not too distant future, when the members of the community will return in safety and honour to the Valley where they belong and to which they have contributed so greatly since the beginning of its recorded history.
64. That must certainly be the intent and the endeavour not only of the Kashmiri Pandits, but also of the State and Union Governments. Regrettably, there can be no doubt that the community has felt that it has not been given the understanding and relief that it deserved, and to which it is entitled. The Commission has empathy for this feeling, even while recognizing the efforts made by Government to assist and the supreme sacrifice made by personnel of the security forces to defend the integrity of the nation and all of its citizens. The Commission nevertheless urges both the State and Union Governments to enhance their efforts to provide the Pandits with the understanding and assistance that they require in these difficult days. The Commission has itself suggested a number of measures to this end, including the establishment of a High-Level Committee, which includes a nominee of the Commission, to go into the full range of practical problems facing the Pandits. It expects and trusts that the

Committee will function with a high sense of responsibility and expeditiousness in the tasks envisaged for it. The Commission looks forward to receiving periodic reports on the work of this Committee as it proposes to continue to monitor developments in regard to the Pandits on a regular basis, not least in relation to the proper listing and protection of the properties they left behind, the restoration of those properties and the statutory nullification of coerced alienations and dispossessions and illegal occupations. The Commission understands the reasons in the prayer of the complainants that an enquiry be held into the causes and circumstances leading to their present suffering. The Commission would like to observe, in this connection, that it is always ready and willing to examine and take action upon complaints relating to specific matters, as and when these are brought before the Commission.

65. The Commission also considers it important to note that it has not, in these Proceedings, entered into the killings and deep sufferings that have been borne by the Muslim community of the Valley in the course of the past years. The reason is that those matters were not the subject of the present complaints. However, the Commission believes the time will come when peace will be restored for all in the Valley, and that the essence of that peace will be reconciliation and the restoration of that trust and tolerance that characterized the Valley for centuries and that gave to the term 'Kashmiriyat' a meaning that was unique in the life of this nation.
66. There remains the question of the applicability of the Genocide Convention to India. Here, these Proceedings would like to record that the broad issue of the "Humanitarian Base of International Human Rights Norms and their Domestic Application" and the issue of "Indian Law and the Enforceability of International Covenants" have been definitively addressed on behalf of the Commission by a separate Order, also dated 11 June 1999. As far as the Genocide Convention itself is concerned, as is widely known, India acceded to it on 27 August 1959, having been among the first countries, together with Cuba and Panama, to have raised the need for

such a Convention in the General Assembly of the United Nations on 2 November 1946. India did not, however, enact, in accordance with its Constitution, "the necessary legislation" to give effect to the provisions of the Convention and, in particular, to provide effective penalties for persons guilty of genocide or of any of the other acts enumerated in Article III. This being said, over the years, the Convention has developed into a norm of customary international law and it is now universally recognized by the international community that the rule prohibiting genocide as expressed in Article II, has attained the status of jus cogens. It therefore has peremptory status. And for these reasons, the prohibition of genocide as expressed in the Geneva Convention applies to all members of the international community, not only to those who are parties to the Convention. Indeed, in the words of the advisory opinion of the International Court of Justice of 2 May 1951 on the Reservations to the Genocide Convention

"the principles underlying the Convention are principles which are recognized by civilized nations as binding on States even without any conventional obligation....."

The Genocide Convention was intended by the General Assembly and by the Contracting Parties to be definitely universal in scope".
[(1951)I.C.J.Rep.15,23]

The Convention was thus manifestly adopted for a humanizing and civilizing purpose. And it would be well for all to remember that, in our rapidly changing world, where "all peoples are confronted with the reality of their inextricable oneness" (see Payam Akhavan, Enforcement of the Genocide Convention: A Challenge to Civilization, Harvard Human Rights Journal/Vol.8,258) there is need for us jointly to build our defences against genocide and the other heinous acts that go under the painful title "crimes against humanity".

67. The Commission would, finally, like to place on record its deep gratitude to the learned Counsels who appeared before it in the hearings relating to these complaints on matters of great gravity.

Pronounced this the 11th day of June, 1999.

Sd/-

Sd/-

Sd/-

(Virendra Dayal)
Member

(Justice V.S.Malimath)
Member

(Justice M.N.Venkatachaliah)
Chairperson

No. 9/58/94-LD
NATIONAL HUMAN RIGHTS COMMISSION
(LAW DIVISION)

S.K. Srivastava
Asstt. Registrar (Law)
Phone No. 3361671
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Sardar Patel Bhavan
Sansad Marg,
New Delhi – 110001.

Dated 14-06-1999

To

**Shri Ashwani Kumar Chrungoo,
Convenor, Panun Kashmir Movement,
232/C, Ram Vihar, Old Janipur,
Jammu (J&K)**

Sub: - Memorandum submitted by Panun Kashmir Movement and others.

Sir,

I am directed to forward herewith a copy of the order pronounced by the Commission on 11.6.1999 in the above said matter.

Yours faithfully,
Asstt. Registrar (Law)

Encl : As above.

**NATIONAL HUMAN RIGHTS COMMISSION
SARDAR PATEL BHAWAN
NEW DELHI**

IN THE MATTER OF:

PANUN KASHMIR MOVEMENT
VS.
STATE OF JAMMU AND KASHMIR AND OTHERS
(Case no.: 938/94-95/NHRC)

AND:

PANUN KASHMIR
VS.
STATE OF JAMMU AND KASHMIR AND OTHERS
(Case no.: 802/94-95/NHRC)

AND:

ALL INDIA KASHMIRI DISPLACED EMPLOYEES FORUM
VS.
STATE OF JAMMU AND KASHMIR AND OTHERS
(Case no.: 782/96-97/NHRC)

QUORUM:

**JUSTICE SHRI M.N. VENKATACHALIAH, CHAIRPERSON
JUSTICE SHRI V.S.MALIMATH, MEMBER
SHRI VIRENDRA DAYAL, MEMBER**

ORDER

(ON THE PRELIMINARY OBJECTION OF THE STATE OF JAMMU AND KASHMIR ON THE EXTENT OF APPLICABILITY OF THE PROTECTION OF HUMAN RIGHTS ACT, 1993)

1. The preliminary objection raised by the State of Jammu and Kashmir in these matters pertains to the applicability, or rather the extent of the applicability, of a Central Law, i.e., Protection of Human Rights Act, 1993 to the State of Jammu and Kashmir. The range of arguments advanced requires a consideration of Union Parliament's legislative competence to make laws for the State of Jammu and Kashmir, of the extent of applicability of the Protection of Human Rights Act, 1993 ('Act' for short) to the State of Jammu and Kashmir and of the built-in limitations as to the extent of its operation. The questions relate to both the constitutional limitations on the legislative competence of the Union Parliament to make laws for the State of Jammu and Kashmir as well as the specific legislative restrictions in the Act in relation to that State.
2. The Commission has heard Shri M.A. Goni, learned Advocate-General for the State of Jammu and Kashmir, Shri M.S. Usgaoncar, learned Senior Advocate and former Additional Solicitor General and Shri A.K. Wali, learned Advocate for the Union of India, Shri Lekhi for the Panun Kashmir Movement, and Shri C.S. Vaidyanathan, learned Additional Solicitor General, who at the request of the Commission assisted it as Amicus-Curiae.
3. Organisations working for the welfare of displaced Kashmiri Pandits, viz., "Panun Kashmir Movement" in case no. 938/94-95/NHRC, "Panun Kashmir" in case no. 802/94-95/NHRC and "All India Kashmiri Displaced Employees Forum" in case no. 782/96-97/NHRC preferred complaints of and sought inquiries into the violations of the human rights of the Kashmiri Pandits. The facts and events allegedly constituting such violations, briefly stated, are these:

- (i) That the terrorist organizations have unleashed an organized campaign to exterminate the Hindus in Kashmir supported by foreign mercenaries contravening the basic principles of equality, freedom and due process of law which underline the Universal Declaration of Human Rights thus amounting to Genocide of Hindus.
- (ii) That there has been ethnic cleansing of Hindus from the State by way of threats from the mercenaries to quit or face mass-massacre. As a result, a large number of Hindus have had to leave their homes and take refuge in Jammu.
- (iii) That there have been attacks, molestation, kidnappings and gang-rapes of the women folk of Hindus in order to instill fear and humiliation in them.
- (iv) That a large number of temples have been demolished and burnt down.
- (v) That thousands of houses belonging to Hindus have been burnt down. The looting and destruction of property and household goods left behind by the Hindus are still continuing. In many cases, houses, establishments, land, orchards etc. of Hindus have been taken over by Muslims and terrorist groups to ensure that they do not return.
- (vi) That the State of Jammu and Kashmir has failed to fulfil its international obligation of protecting life, liberty, property and religious sanctity of the Hindu Minority. The Union Government and the Government of Jammu and Kashmir have defaulted in providing security against the assault of terrorists and have also failed to provide help regarding accommodation, sanitary

facilities, health care and other basic amenities to the Hindu refugees in consonance with the international standards of relief.

- (vii) That a large number of Hindu employees working on temporary and work-charge basis in the State Government and corporate bodies funded by the State Government and employees including the Hindu teachers of Kashmir University have been pushed out of services as a result of migration from Kashmir. On the other hand, Muslim employees were confirmed in their posts on a permanent basis.
- (viii) That the student community of Hindu refugees have been segregated from others and have been refused admission in Government schools and colleges in Jammu.
- (ix) That unemployed displaced Kashmiri youth have been deprived of gaining employment in the State Government.

4. The reliefs prayed for in the petitions can be summarized thus:

- (i) That the displaced Kashmiri Pandits should not be treated as mere 'Migrants' but as 'Internally Displaced Persons';
- (ii) That there be an assurance of their 'non-refoulment' in view of the alleged continuing threat to their lives;
- (iii) That appropriate and conducive conditions be created for their return to their homeland in security, dignity and peace;
- (iv) To fix the responsibility on the authorities involved for this grave violation of their human rights;

- (v) That all the Hindu refugees be provided relief, accommodation, health-care, according to standard norms recognized for relief of refugees as per International Convention, International Law, United Nations Resolutions for the relief of refugees and the laws in this behalf in India;
- (vi) That all Hindu employees of State Government, corporate bodies funded by the State and the University of Kashmir, who were working on temporary/adhoc/work-charge basis at the time of exodus of Hindus be reinstated and confirmed;
- (vii) That the discriminatory segregation of Hindu refugee students be ended; and that religious discrimination against the community of Kashmiri Pandits should end;
- (viii) That 30% of employment in services of State in general and in Kashmir in particular be reserved for Hindu refugees so long as they are in exile;
- (ix) That adequate protection be provided to temples, shrines, religious places and property belonging to Hindu minorities in Kashmir, left behind by them.

5. At an advanced stage of proceedings, the State of Jammu and Kashmir, in an affidavit filed on 27.01.1998, filed by way of rejoinder, has raised a preliminary objection as to the jurisdiction of the Commission to entertain the matters. It is urged:

“that in view of the fact that the State of Jammu and Kashmir has enacted the Jammu and Kashmir Protection of Human Rights Act, 1997, the above titled complaint in this Hon’ble Commission is not maintainable now”.

“..... The Jurisdiction extends to the State of Jammu and Kashmir only in so far as it pertains of the matters related to any of the entries enumerated in List I or List III in the seventh scheduled to the Constitution as applicable to the State of Jammu and Kashmir. Taking the said entries into consideration, it is clear that the complaints do not lie in this Commission”.

6. The points that need examination, therefore, are (a) the extent of the legislative competence of the Union Parliament to make laws for the State of Jammu and Kashmir; (b) the source of legislative competence of the Union Parliament to enact the Protection of Human Rights Act, 1993; (c) the entries in the legislative lists to which the ‘Act’ is relatable; and (d) the scope and effect of the proviso to sub section (2) of Section 1 of the Act which expressly stipulates that the “Act shall apply to the State of Jammu and Kashmir only in so far as it pertains to the matters relatable to any of the entries enumerated in List I or List III in the Seventh Schedule to the Constitution as applicable to that State”.

Competence of the Union Parliament to make laws for the State of Jammu and Kashmir.

7. The portions of Article 370 of the Constitution relevant to the present enquiry are:
- “(1) Notwithstanding anything in this Constitution –
- (a) (omitted as unnecessary)
 - (b) The power of Parliament to make laws for the said State shall be limited to:
 - (i) those matters in the Union List and the Concurrent List which, in consultation with the Government of the State, are declared by the President to correspond to matters specified in the Instrument of Accession governing the accession of the State to the Dominion of India as the matters with respect to which the Dominion Legislature may make laws for that State,

- (ii) such other matters in the said Lists, as, with the concurrence of the Government of the State, the President may by order specify.

} (c)
 (d) (omitted as unnecessary)
 (2)
} (3)

The Instrument of Accession which delineates the matters with respect to which the Dominion Legislature may make laws for the State, contains, inter alia: -

"B

1. External affairs; the implementation of treaties and agreements with other countries.....

D.

2. Offences against the laws with respect to any of the aforesaid matters.
3. Inquiries and statistics for the purpose of the above matters.
4. Jurisdiction and powers of all courts with respect to any of the aforesaid matters but, except with the consent of the Ruler of the Acceding State, not so far as to confer any jurisdiction or powers upon any courts other than ordinarily exercising jurisdiction in or in relation to that State".

At the time of the accession to India, the sovereign of Jammu and Kashmir had expressly given over to India the power to implement treaties and agreements with foreign countries.

8. The legislative competence of the Union Parliament to make laws for the State of Jammu and Kashmir extends to topics enumerated in the Union List with certain

exceptions. In relation to that State, Article 246 of the Constitution has to be read, subject to certain modification. For the words, brackets and figures "clause (2) and (3)" occurring in clause (1) Article 246, the word, brackets and figure "clause (2)" shall be substituted, and the words, brackets and figures "Notwithstanding anything in clause (3)" occurring in clause (2) and the whole of clauses (3) and (4) shall be omitted. Then again so far as the State of Jammu and Kashmir is concerned, the residuary power of legislation belongs not to Parliament but to the State legislature, which was competent to legislate on all matters not enumerated in the Union List. Entry 97 of List I, as such, is not applicable to Kashmir. Article 248 is applicable to the State in a modified form. Article 248 dealing with the residuary powers reads:

- "(1) Parliament has exclusive power to make any law with respect to any matter not enumerated in the Concurrent List or State List.
- (2) Such power shall include the power of making any law imposing a tax not mentioned in either of those Lists".

But so far as the State of Jammu and Kashmir is concerned, it stands substantially modified and reads:

- (a) Prevention of activities involving terrorist acts directed towards overawing the Government as by law established or striking terror in the people or any section of the people or alienating any section of the people or adversely affecting the harmony amongst different section of the people.
- (aa) Prevention of other activities directed towards disclaiming, questioning or disrupting the sovereignty and territorial integrity of India or bringing about cession of a part of the territory of India or secession of a part of the territory of India from the Union or causing insult to the Indian National Flag, the Indian National Anthem and this Constitution; and

- (b) Taxes on –
 - (i) foreign travel by sea or air,
 - (ii) inland air travel,
 - (iii) postal articles, including money orders,
phonograms and telegrams.

[Explanation – In this Article, ‘terrorist act’ means any act or thing by using bombs, dynamite or other explosive substances or inflammable substances or firearms or other lethal weapons or poisons or noxious gases or other chemicals or any other substances whether biological or otherwise of a hazardous nature.]

The changes corresponding to those brought about in Article 248 in relation to the State of Jammu and Kashmir are reflected in entry 97 of List I.

9. Article 253 of the Constitution applicable to the rest of India reads:

“Notwithstanding anything in the foregoing provisions of this Chapter, Parliament has power to make any law for the whole or any part of the territory of India for implementing any treaty, agreement or convention with any other country

Or countries or any decision made at any international conference, association or other body”.

But so far as the State of Jammu and Kashmir is concerned, the Article be read subject to the following proviso:

“Provided that after the commencement of the Constitution (Application to Jammu and Kashmir) Order, 1954, no decision affecting the disposition of the State of Jammu and Kashmir shall be made by the Government of that State”.

10. The point to note and emphasize is that the power to make laws implementing treaties and decisions at international conferences is exclusively that of the Union. In that area the scheme of distribution of legislative powers under the various lists breaks down. The only limitation, so far as the State of Jammu and Kashmir is concerned, is that no decision affecting the disposition of the State shall be made without the State's consent. The word 'dispose' of which the 'disposition' is a noun, is defined in the Oxford English Dictionary as, "to bestow, make over, formally assign or hand over; to deal out, dispense, distribute" and also as "to make arrangements; to determine or control the course of affairs or events". Article 253, as will be indicated later, was intended to get over the jurisdictional problems between the Union and the States in a federal setup in matters pertaining to the implementation of treaty obligations. The purpose of Articles 253, as Seervai points out, is to avoid the difficulties experienced by Canada in implementing International Agreements or Conventions. Section 132 of the British North American Act, 1867 conferred upon the Parliament and the Government of Canada "all powers necessary or proper for performing the obligations of Canada or any Province thereof as part of the British Empire towards foreign countries arising under treaties between the Empire and such a foreign country".
11. In *A.G. for Canada Vs. A.G. for Ontario* (1937) A.C. 326, the Privy Council struck down three Labour Acts passed by the Dominion Parliament which gave effect to the draft convention adopted by the International Labour Organisation in accordance with the treaty of Versailles and ratified by Canada. The Privy Council held that the Dominion could not merely by making promises to foreign countries clothe itself with legislative authority inconsistent with the Constitution which gave it birth and as the impugned law relates to "property and civil rights in the Province", a subject of exclusive provincial legislative power under Section 92 (13) of the British North American Act, they were void. The power to implement a treaty did not include the power to legislate on a subject of exclusive provincial legislation. The Privy Council said:

** “..... It would be remarkable that while the dominion could not initiate legislation, however desirable, which affected civil rights in the Provinces, yet its Government not responsible to the Provinces nor controlled by Provincial Parliaments need only agree with a foreign country to enact such legislation, and its Parliament would be forthwith clothed with authority to affect Provincial rights to the full extent of such agreement. Such a result would appear to undermine the constitutional safeguards of Provincial constitutional autonomy”.

“..... In other words, the Dominion cannot, merely by making promises to foreign countries, clothe itself with legislative authority inconsistent with the constitution which gave it birth”.

12. In India, Article 253 enables Parliament to implement a treaty by law even if the subject-matter of the law is subject of exclusive State legislation. Referring to the scope of Article 253, Supreme Court of India in Maganbhai Ishwarbhai Patel Vs. Union of India (1969 3 SCR) stated:

“The Constitution of India does not contain any clear direction about treaties such as is to be found in the United States and French Constitutions. Therefore, in our country we can only go by inferences from our Constitution, the circumstances and precedents. The legislative entries which enable the Parliament to enact laws in respect of treaties are to be read with Article 253. The Article adds nothing to the legislative entries but confers exclusive power of law making upon Parliament”.

Protection of Human Rights Act, 1993 : Rival contentions as to the sources of law making power of the Union Parliament in relation to the State of Jammu and Kashmir.

13. The State of Jammu and Kashmir concedes that the 'Act' in so far as it is with respect to 'activities involving terrorist acts etc.' and 'to the prevention of activities directed towards striking terror in the people' relatable to the residuary powers under entry 97 of List I as applicable to that State, is valid and operates in the State. It is conceded by both the State and Union Governments that even in relation to the State of Jammu and Kashmir, the scope of entry 97 of List I, even as applicable to that State, permits such legislation.

It is, however, urged that in respect of matters beyond what is permitted under the field covered by entry 97 of List I, as applicable to the State of Jammu and Kashmir, the Union has no such legislative competence. It is said that if the 'Act' trenches on 'public order', then the law would be ultra-vires of the powers of the Union Parliament. It is urged that the law in relation to the State of Jammu and Kashmir must be so construed as to promote its constitutionality. It is urged, for instance, if a complaint is made by a citizen of torture in police custody in the State of Jammu and Kashmir otherwise than as in relation to matters pertaining to or arising out of terrorist activities, it would be a matter falling within the subject of 'public order' within the exclusive power of the State. It is urged that the proviso to sub-section (2) of Section 1 of the Act really recognizes and reflects constitutional lack of competence on the part of the Union Parliament and is not merely a matter of legislative choice. Section 1 of the Act provides:

- "(1) This Act may be called the Protection of Human Rights Act, 1993.
(2) It extends to the whole of India.

Provided that it shall apply to the State of Jammu and Kashmir only in so far as it pertains to the matters relatable to any of the entries enumerated in List I or List III in the Seventh Schedule to the Constitution as applicable to that State.

(3) (omitted as unnecessary)”

14. It is urged on behalf of State and Union Governments that even if the legislation is relatable to entries 94 of List I viz. “inquiries, surveys and statistics for the purposes of any of the matters in this list” or the corresponding entry 45 of List III, the law would not be applicable to the State of Jammu and Kashmir to matters in the State List. It is pointed out that entry 45 of List III in relation to that State, excludes reference to the State Government.
15. Shri C.V. Vaidyanathan, learned Additional Solicitor-General, who assisted the Commission as Amicus-Curiae at its request, sought to point out that the ‘Act is also referable to entries 13 and 14 of List I read with Article 253 of the Constitution and a law made pursuant thereto extends to the State of Jammu and Kashmir as well. Shri Vaidyanathan urged that if the law is applicable to all other states as one made under Article 253, as indeed it is, there is neither legal logic nor rational justification for an exclusionary construction so far its applicability to the State of Jammu and Kashmir is concerned. He, however, urged that the proviso to Section 1 (2) itself would be of doubtful constitutional validity if it claims to reflect a constitutional limitation on the powers of the Union. If, on the contrary, it reflects a mere legislative choice it would, he said, run into constructional difficulties.
16. The Commission should, however, make it clear that it is neither a court of judicial review nor a court of construction. It can only interpret the laws for the limited purpose of grasping the legislative intent to implement and enforce its provisions. It

cannot make any declaration on the validity or otherwise of any of the provisions of the 'Act'.

Admitted position to the applicability of the 'Act' to the State of Jammu and Kashmir in the facts of the present cases.

17. Consistent with the stand of the State and Union Governments that if acts complained of relate to terrorist acts, the Commission would have the jurisdiction and the 'Act' would be invocable in relation to the State of Jammu and Kashmir, both the Governments have conceded the Commission's jurisdiction to go into and examine the cases in accordance with the provisions of the 'Act' as, indeed, the violation of human rights arise in the context of and related to terrorist activities. In the written submission filed by the Government of India, referring to the preliminary objection as to the jurisdiction, it is stated:

"..... But in the instant case considering the acts complained of that question does not arise and, as stated at the beginning, the National Commission will have the jurisdiction to make enquiry into the complaint whether or not the applicants would succeed to establish their claim is a different point".

Shri Usgaoncar, learned Senior Advocate for the Government of India in his note filed on 24th May, 1999 states:

"Taking into consideration the tenor of the complaints, all are arising from the acts of terrorism, and even when allowances towards State Civil services are demanded, they flow from the acts of terrorism.

Therefore, the same being traceable to the List I, entry 97 as amended in 1972 and then in 1985, the jurisdiction of the National Commission to enquire into the complaints cannot be questioned".

It requires, therefore, to be held that the objection as to the jurisdiction and maintainability of complaints in the aforementioned cases do not really survive.

Indeed, in these cases the jurisdictional or collateral facts and merits of the inquiry merge in each other.

18. However, the larger question of jurisdiction of the Commission to enquire into allegations of violations of human rights otherwise than in the context of terrorist acts is a recurring theme. It is necessary, therefore, so far as the Commission is concerned, to express the Commission's views, though not necessary to dispose of the preliminary objection in the present cases. In the present cases it is conceded that the Commission has powers to inquire into them. The parties addressed arguments inviting the Commission to pronounce on the preliminary objection as to the jurisdiction.

Protection of Human Rights Act, 1993 : Nature of the law in its pith and substance.

19. The general principle of construction is that entries in the legislative lists are not sources of legislative power but are merely topics or fields of legislation and 'must receive a liberal construction inspired by a broad and generous spirit and not in narrow pedantic sense'. The expression "with respect to" in Article 246 brings in the doctrine of "Pith and Substance". Wherever the question of legislative competence is raised the test is that if the legislation, looked at as a whole, has a substantial and not merely a remote connection with the entry, the matter may well be taken to be a legislation on the topic.
20. If a legislation purporting to be under a particular legislative entry is assailed for lack of legislative competence, the law can be supported on the basis of any other entry or entries within the legislative competence of that legislature. It is not necessary to show that the legislature, while enacting the law, consciously applied its mind to the sources of its own competence. Competence to legislate flows from Articles 245, 246 and the other Articles following in part XI of the Constitution. In upholding the validity of a law questioned on ground of legislative incompetence, it can always be shown that the

law was supportable under any other entry within the competence of the legislature. Supreme Court observed that in supporting a legislation, sustenance could be drawn and had from many different entries. The legislation could be a composite legislation drawing upon several entries. In the context of such "ragbag" legislations particularly familiar in taxation, Supreme Court made these observations.

"Bannion in his statutory interpretation refers to such a composite legislation, though the observations must be understood in the context of the supremacy of the British Parliament and one of unlimited powers and which is under no inhibition, unlike a federal polity, of distribution of legislative powers. Learned author refers to:

'Ragbag' Acts: Some Acts are 'ragbag' Acts, covering many areas. The annual Finance Act is an extreme example. It is divided into Parts, dealing respectively with customs and excise duty, value added tax, income tax, capital gains tax, stamp duty, capital transfer tax and so on. Even within a Part of a Finance Act the various provisions have quite different aims....."

(See: *Ujagar Prints Vs. Union of India* 1989 (3) SCC 488)

In *Hari Krishana Bhargav vs. Union of India* [1996(2) SCR 22], this Court said:

"There is no prohibition against the Parliament enacting in a single statute, matter which call for the exercise of power under two or more entries in List I of the Seventh Schedule. Illustrations of such legislation are not wanting in our statute book, and the fact that one of such entries is the residuary entry does not also attract any disability'.

In the written submissions of the learned Advocate General for the State of Jammu and Kashmir, this position is conceded and it is stated:

"Protection of Human Rights Act, 1993 is a composite legislation drawing on several entries in list I".

Is the 'Act' a law made in implementation of international treaties pursuant to Article 253?

21. In order to examine the present law in its pith and substance, it is necessary to refer to the statement of objects and reasons of the Bill, which reads:

"India is a party to the International Covenant on Civil and Political Rights and the International Covenant on Economic, Social and Cultural Rights adopted by the General Assembly of the United Nations on the 16th December, 1966. the human rights embodied in the aforesaid Covenants stand substantially protected by the Constitution.

However, there has been growing concern in the country and abroad about issues relating to human rights. Having regard to this, changing social realities and the emerging trends in the nature of crime and violence, Government has been reviewing the existing laws, procedures and system of administration of justice, with a view to bringing about greater accountability and transparency in them, and devising efficient and effective methods of dealing with the situation.

Wide ranging discussions were held at various fora such as Chief Ministers' Conference of Human Rights, seminars organized in various parts of the country and meetings with leaders of various political parties. Taking into account the view expressed in these discussions. The present Bill is brought before Parliament".

Section 12 of the 'Act' refers to the functions and powers of the Commission. It states:

"The Commission shall perform all or any of the following functions, namely: -

a) Inquire, suo motu or on a petition presented to it by a victim or any person on his behalf, into complaint of -

I. Violation of human rights or abetment thereof; or

II. Negligence in the prevention of such violation, by a public servant;

- b) Intervene in any proceeding involving any allegation of violation of human rights pending before a court with the approval of such court;
- c) Visit, under intimation to the State Government, any jail or any other institution under the control of the State Government, where persons are detained or lodged for purposes of treatment, reformation or protection to study the living conditions of the inmates and make recommendations thereon;
- d) Review the safeguards provided by or under the Constitution or any law for the time being in force for the protection of human rights and recommend measures for their effective implementation;
- e) Review the factors, including acts of terrorism that inhibit the enjoyment of human rights and recommend appropriate remedial measures;
- f) Study treaties and other international instruments on human rights and make recommendation;
- g) Undertake and promote research in the field of human rights;
- h) Spread human rights literacy among various sections of society and promote awareness of the safeguards available for the protection of these rights through publications, the media, seminars and other available means;
- i) Encourage the efforts of non-governmental organizations and institutions working in the field of human rights;
- j) Such other functions as it may consider necessary for the promotion of human rights”.

Section 2(1) (d) of the ‘Act’ defines Human Rights in the following terms:

“(d) “human rights” means the rights relating to life, liberty, equality and dignity of the individual guaranteed by the Covenants and enforceable by courts in India”.

22. Having regard to its objects and reasons and its specific provision, it will be reasonable to hold that the legislation draws on and is relatable to several entries in the legislative list. In so far as provisions in Sections 12(a)(i) and 12(f) to (j) read with Section 2(1)(d) are concerned, the legislation may possibly be referable to entries 13 and 14 of List I read with Article 253 as urged by Shri Vaidyanathan, entries 13 and 14 of List I read:

- “13. Participation in international conferences, associations and other bodies and implementing of decisions made thereat.
14. Entering into treaties and agreements with foreign countries and implementing of treaties, agreements and conventions with foreign countries”.

Shri Usgaoncar contended that the ‘Act’ is not a law to implement a treaty and is not referable to Article 253. He compared the preamble of Environment (Protection) Act, 1986 with the preamble of Protection of Human Rights Act, 1993 and urged that in the former case, the statement of objects and reasons contains a declaration expressly to say that the law was one to effectuate international obligations, while the latter does not contain any such legislative declaration. In answer, it requires to be pointed out that the mere form of legislation is not conclusive. The learned Advocate General for the State of Jammu and Kashmir urged this specific objection with a little more elaboration. He said that:

“The ‘Act’, truly, is not one for a legislative incorporation or domestic reincarnation of the two Covenants. The rights under the Convenants are not, per-se, made enforceable. They are cognizable and enforceable under the ‘Act’ only if they are already otherwise, enforceable by courts in India”.

So far as Shri Usgaoncar's objection arising out of the absence of a legislative declaration is concerned, it is to be observed that it is the substance of the law, looked at as a whole, and not merely the form that is determinative. But objections of the learned Advocate General are two-fold. The first is one raised by Shri Usgaoncar that the 'Act' is not for legislative domestic rebirth of the Covenants. The second is that the statute does not make the Covenants enforceable, per-se, they are enforceable only if they are already otherwise enforceable by courts in India. To this contention, the answer is the trends in the progressive domestic use of the international human rights norms. After the pronouncement of the Supreme Court in *Visakha's* case, the question as formulated by the learned Advocate General of the State does not seem to retain any strength or vitality. The Covenant rights become a part of the common law unless statutorily interdicted.

Indeed, in understanding the position, the observations of the Supreme Court of India in the case of *Valsamma Paul Vs. Cochin University* (1996(3) SCC 645) made in its reference to the Protection of Human Rights Act, 1993, are helpful:

"Parliament has enacted the Protection of Human Rights Act, 1993, Section 2(d) defines 'human rights' to mean 'the rights relating to life, liberty, equality and dignity of the individual' guaranteed by the Constitution or embodied in the International Covenants and enforceable by courts in India"..... "Section 12 of the Protection of Human Rights Act charges the Commission with duty for proper implementation as well as prevention of violation of the human rights and fundamental freedoms".

So far as the provision in Section 12 (f) is concerned, it may be reasonable construction to hold that it is referable to the residuary entry 97 of List I (as applicable to the State of Jammu and Kashmir). The 'Act' is, therefore, a composite legislation drawing sustenance from several fields of legislation within the Union power. It may be reasonable to construe that in relation to some parts of the legislation it is relatable to Article 253 read with entries 13 and 14 of List I.

Humanitarian base of International Human Rights Norms and their domestic application:

23. The idea of declaration and incorporation of a Bill of Rights with entrenched rights operating as limitations on State Power has evoked mixed reactions in the Anglo-Saxon tradition. It is only in 1998 that Human Rights Act, 1998 was enacted in UK. The proposal to introduce a clause on 'life, liberty, property and due process of law' in the Irish Home Rule Bill, 1912 provoked Mr. Asquith to object on the ground that those expressions 'abounded in ambiguity and pitfalls' and were 'provocative of every kind of frivolous litigation'. Even a provision for "Equal Protection of Laws" was considered a matter of opinion, bias or inclination or judgment which cannot be acted on under anything like settled rules of law! There was also the criticism of the American experiment with the Bill of Rights, that it did result in converting the Supreme Court of the United States into a 'Third House of Legislature'. But the Common Law insisted on the most anxious scrutiny of deprivation of life and liberty, the protection against self-incrimination, search and seizure procedures, of free-speech. Human race as a whole has set these as the quintessential values of civilization.
24. Terminologically expressions Civil-Liberties, Human Rights and Fundamental Rights overlap. This is because of their common pedigree and source. Humanitarian base of fundamental human rights assumed prominence fifty years ago when chastened by the capacity of the human species to destroy its own kind through acts of war and barbarous inhumanity, the peoples of the world gave themselves two instruments designed to prevent forever the recurrence of such unconscionable behaviour: the Charter of the United Nations and the Universal Declaration of Human Rights. They represented the hard-headed conclusions of a generation that twice in their lifetime had witnessed global war, and the horrors of the Holocaust in addition. The Human Rights and humanitarian norms have progressively emerged as new rules of the customary international law. It is now recognised the 'relatively extensive

participation in a treaty, coupled with a subject matter of general significance and stipulations which accord with the general sense of the international community, do establish for some treaties an influence far beyond the limits of formal participation in them. These factors give such a treaty something of the complexion of a legislative instrument, and assist the acceptance of the treaty's provisions as customary international law in addition to their contractual values for the parties'. 'The process whereby a treaty's provisions may come also to be rules of customary law is of considerable significance for the role of treaties in international law'. Universality of the human rights regime is one of the incidents of its underpinning in international institutions.

Indian Law: Enforceability of International Covenants

25. In common law, mere ratification of an international covenant, by itself, does not make the rights enforceable in the municipal courts except to the extent they are reborn in the municipal laws. In the United Kingdom, the view is that International Covenants are not part of the law of the land. "Conventions" said Lord Fraser of Tullybelton, in *CCSU Vs. Minister for Civil Services*, "are not part of the law in this country". But customary rules of international law are considered a part of the laws of England by reason of comity of nations unless inconsistent with statutes made by Parliament. [See *Trindtex Corp. Vs. Central Bank* (1977) QB 529 (CA)]. But a treaty is not by itself a source of rights and obligations of individuals. This was restated in the *Laker Airways* case [(1983) 3 All Er. 375 (402) CA].

The learned Advocate General for the State in his written submissions has stated: "The rights under the covenants are per-se not enforceable in the municipal courts unless they are made part of the domestic law. With respect to treaties, the Municipal courts have neither the means of deciding what is right nor the power of enforcing any decision which they make as the transactions of independent states between each other are governed by other laws than those which municipal courts administer".

This needs to be addressed though in the last analysis, as seen earlier, the international human rights norms have found their ways into the municipal laws.

26. Article 51(c) of the Constitution enjoins the 'state to endeavour to foster respect for international law and treaty obligations'. But Indian Courts have endeavoured to interpret Indian Statutes in consonance with the international covenants ratified by India. Article 253 empowers the Union to legislate with respect to its treaty obligations without reference to the scheme of distribution of legislative powers under the Constitution. International Instruments and Covenants on Human Rights have influenced the interpretation of the constitutional provisions. [See *Varghese Vs. Bank of Cochin* (AIR 1980 SC 470); *Harbhajan Vs. Union of India* (1986) (4) SCC 678; *Minerva Mills vs. Union of India* (AIR 1973 SC 1461 at paras 111-112); *Maneka Gandhi vs. Union of India*, (AIR 1978 SC, at paras 53-70); *Keshavananda Bharathi vs. State of Kerala*, (AIR 1973 SC 1461 at para 153-154,303); *Nilabati Behra vs. State of Orissa* (AIR 1993 SC 1960); *People's Union for Civil Liberties vs. Union of India & Anr.* (JT 1997 (2) S.C. 311)].

But the high point of respect for and enforcement of the treaty obligations in the area of human rights was reached when the Supreme Court in the case of *Visakha Vs. State of Rajasthan* (1997 (6) SCC 241) held:

".....Any international convention not inconsistent with its spirit must be read into these provisions to enlarge the meaning and content thereof, to promote the object of the constitutional guarantee. This is implicit from Article 51(c) and the enabling power of Parliament to enact laws for implementing the international conventions and norms by virtue of Article 253 read with Entry 14 of the Union List in Seventh Schedule of the Constitution".

The Court further held that:

"The international conventions and norms are to be read into them in the absence of enacted domestic law occupying the field when there is no inconsistency between them. It is now an accepted rule of judicial construction that regard must be had to

international conventions and norms for construing domestic law when there is no inconsistency between them and there is a void in the domestic laws”

In Apparel Export Promotion Council Vs. A.K. Chopra (1999 (1) SCC 759), it was held that:

“The international instruments cast an obligation on the Indian State to gender-sensitise its laws and the courts are under an obligation to see that the message of international instrument is not allowed to be drowned. This Court has in numerous cases emphasized that while discussing constitutional requirements Court and counsel must never forget the core principle embodied in the international conventions and instruments and as far as possible, give effect to the principles contained in those international instruments. **The courts are under an obligation to give due regard to international conventions and norms for construing domestic laws, more so, when there is no inconsistency between them and there is a void in domestic law**”.

“In cases involving violation of human rights, **the courts must forever remain alive to the international instruments and conventions and apply the same to a given case when there is no inconsistency between the international norms and the domestic law occupying the field**”.

(emphasis supplied)

27. Indeed treaties have been the principal means for development of the Human Rights Movement. Only treaties, not custom or general principles, can create international institutions in which state parties participate and to which they owe duties. Multilateral treaties are increasingly referred to as ‘inter-national legislation’ an expression which is acquiring increasing currency. Article 2(2) of the International Covenant on Civil and Political Rights (ICCPR) enjoins state-parties “to undertake necessary steps in accordance with its constitutional processes to adopt such legislative or other measures as may be necessary to give effect to the rights recognized in the present Covenant”. Article 50 of ICCPR requires that the provisions of the Covenant “shall extend to all parts of federal states without any limitation or

exceptions". It is in the spirit of and consistent with Article 50 of ICCPR that the question of the extension of the provisions of the 'Act' to the State of Jammu and Kashmir needs to be promoted.

28. It is reasonable to construe that the proviso to sub-section 2 of Section 1 is not an expression of the recognition of the lack of legislative competence of the 'Act' on the part of the Union Parliament. But it is rather an expression of a legislative choice as to the scope of the particular legislation. It is also reasonable to say that the exclusionary rule contained in the proviso operates respecting the provisions of the Act which are not referable to entries 13 and 14 and Article 253. If the topic of legislation authorized by Article 253 is the implementation of treaty obligations, then the matter falls in List I and the individual provisions of the treaties are not amenable to the split-up as referable to matters separately under List I, II and III. All the operation of the proviso must, therefore, be confined to matters outside the two Covenants and those that fall within entry 97 of List I (as applicable to the State) or matters in List III. That is an exercise to be done case by case.

The true scope and effect of the proviso to Section 1(2) of the 'Act'.

29. It is, indeed, conceded that the provision of the 'Act' with respect to matters relatable to entry 97 of List I (as applicable to the State of Jammu and Kashmir) extends to that State. To the extent the provisions relate to implementation of treaty obligations envisaged by Article 253, it extends to the State and even prevails over the State power. If any matter is covered by a treaty, then Union has exclusive power to make laws even though the matter might, otherwise, fall within the State list. This constitutional position remains unaltered even in relation to the State of Jammu and Kashmir. If a law made pursuant to Article 253 covers a field otherwise within the State power, the Union law has predominance. In *Maganbhai Vs. Union of India* [(1993) 3 SCR 254], the Supreme Court has made this clear:

"The effect of Art. 253 is that if a treaty, agreement or convention with a foreign State deals with a subject within the competence of the State Legislature, the Parliament

alone has, notwithstanding Art. 246(3), the power to make laws to implement the treaty, agreement or convention or any decision made at any international conference, association or other body. In items, the Article deals with legislative power, thereby power is conferred upon the Parliament which it may not otherwise possess”.

Has the proviso to Section 1 (2) made any change in this position? The proviso reads:
(2) It extends to the whole of India.

Provided that it shall apply to the State of Jammu and Kashmir only in so far as it pertains to the matters relatable to any of the entries enumerated in List I or III in the Seventh Schedule to the Constitution as applicable to that State.

30. To the extent the proviso does not affect a law pertaining to matters relatable to Article 253 (and the law is indeed relatable to entries 13 and 14 of List I read with Article 253) the proviso has no effect. The proviso itself excludes such a law from its own operation. It is, therefore, reasonable to construe that the provisions of the ‘Act relatable to Article 253 and entries 13 and 14 of List I are untouched by the proviso.
31. There is perhaps another possible view to support this construction. Article 253 is a federal power. On the principle of federal supremacy, it prevails over the state power even if they operate in the same field. The Commission might take the analogy of this accepted principle of constitutional construction in the present context also. The Supreme Court in the case of *Kerala State Electricity Board Vs. Indian Aluminium Co. Ltd.* (1976(1) SCC 466] has held:
“ Furthermore, the word ‘notwithstanding’ in clause (1) also means that if it is not possible to reconcile the two entries, the entry in List I will prevail. But before that happens attempt should be made to decide in which list a particular legislation falls. For deciding under which entry a particular legislation falls the theory of ‘pith and substance’ has been evolved by the courts. If in pith and substance a legislation falls within one list or the other but some portion of the subject-matter of that legislation incidentally

trenches upon and might come to fall under another list, the Act as a whole would be valid notwithstanding such incidental trenching. These principles have been laid down in a number of decisions”.

The “Commission on Centre-State Relations” in its report states:

“In every Constitutional system having two levels of government with demarcated jurisdiction, passed by a State Legislature on a matter assigned valid, may impinge upon the competence of the Union or vice-versa. Simultaneous operation side-by-side of two inconsistent laws, each of equal validity, will be an absurdity. The rule of Federal Supremacy is a technique to avoid such absurdity, resolve conflicts and ensure harmony between the Union and State laws. This principle, therefore, is indispensable for the successful functioning of any federal or quasi-federal Constitution. It is indeed the kingpin of the federal system. ‘Draw it out, the entire system falls to pieces’. [Part I, para 2.5.21]

Accordingly, if there are areas over-lapping between those covered by the two International Covenants referred to in Section 2 (1) (f) of the ‘Act’ on the one hand and any of the fields within the state power, the former must prevail.

32. The foregoing discussion will not operate to leave the proviso to Section 1(2) redundant or otiose or purposeless. It has to be given its due meaning and effect on the basis of a harmonious construction. Since the provisions of the ‘Act’ pertaining to the International Covenants are relatable to Article 253, they are enforceable in the State as in List I itself. The areas left for the operation of the proviso would be those other than covered by the provisions relatable to Article 253 and to entry 97 of List I (as applicable to that State). In respect of the rest of areas, the proviso would operate and in each case an exercise needs to be made whether the violation is in respect of matters in relation to entries in List I and List III of the Seventh Schedule. It is true that this exercise might become cumbersome. That perhaps cannot be helped. The exclusionary operation of the proviso would be in areas other than the Covenant rights

and the provisions of the 'Act' relatable to entry 97 of List I as applicable to that State.

33. The preliminary objection is overruled subject to the observations made in paragraph 32 supra.
34. The Commission places on record its appreciation of and gratitude for the assistance afforded to it by all the learned counsel. The Commission is particularly grateful to Shri C.S. Vaidyanathan, learned Amicus-Curiae.

Pronounced this the 11th day of June, 1999 at New Delhi.

Sd/-
(Justice M.N. Venkatachaliah)
Chairperson

Sd/-
(Justice V.S. Malimath)
Member

Sd/-
(Virendra Dayal)
Member

**For the Asia and Pacific Regional Conference
On
Education for Human Rights
At
Pune (India)
4th February 1999**

**PROTECTION OF HUMAN RIGHTS
OF
INTERNALLY DISPLACED PERSONS (THE KASHMIRI PANDITS)**

Ashwani Kumar Chrungoo

Director, Human Rights Affairs,
Kashmiri Pandit Political Steering Committee (KPPSC) and
President, Panun Kashmir Movement (PKM)

During the last half century, particularly after the adoption by the United Nations Assembly of the resolution on Universal Declaration of Human Rights on December 10, 1948, the 'protection of human rights' has received recognition throughout the world. In fact, the International Covenants adopted later in 1966 by the General Assembly underlined the Universal recognition of human rights. Though violations of human rights in various parts of the world continue even after the adoption of the declaration and the covenants, yet awareness about the necessity of effectively protecting these rights does exist. Respect of human dignity cuts across cultures. The values held by different peoples are at the roots of universality. Procedures and practices may vary, but at the fundamental level people desire some values to nourish. The belief that all human beings are free and equal is universal and gives birth to right to life, freedom and expression. It may not, however, be necessary to go into details and nature of these rights here. On the other hand, it would be more interesting to know and examine how far these rights are being protected by various States in the world and particularly in our own country—India.

Violation of human rights takes place at the individual level due to occasional excesses being committed against human beings by the operatives of the State and the lumpen elements of the society. But more distressing is the violation of human rights of various communities as a whole. Thus we hear about the violation of the rights of Kurds, Bosnians, Kigelies, Tibetans, Afghans etc, taking place. To save themselves from cruelty, mayhem and death, the victim communities are forced to leave their hearth and home to take shelter elsewhere where they feel secure. When the victims seek shelter outside the territories of their countries in foreign lands, they are designated as 'refugees'. However, when the victims seek shelter elsewhere where they feel secure after being uprooted from their ancestral and natural habitat in a different part of their own country, they are termed as 'internally displaced persons'. The legal protection is given to the rights of the refugees by nation-states but the internally displaced persons do not receive such protection. It will be recalled that the Commission on Human Rights at its forty eighth session in 1992 requested the Secretary General of UN to appoint a Representative to study the human rights issues related to internally displaced persons. The Representative Mr. Francis M. Deng submitted, pursuant to the Commission of Human Rights resolution, voluminous reports carrying recommendations in respect of 'Internally Displaced Persons'. However, in the absence of any specific reporting from the United Nations country mechanism in India, Mr. Deng could not recommend any specific measure for the 'Internally Displaced Persons' in India. The Government of India is also, to a large extent, responsible for keeping in the dark the world at large regarding this vital and grave issue. It probably felt shy of revealing the truth lest it should unleash a process that will bring forth the 'Whole Truth' which may not suit it due to its political compulsions.

But neither this august house nor I have any such political compulsion. Therefore I submit that the terrorist violence in Kashmir has involved a mass massacre of the members of the Kashmiri Pandit Community at the hands of the Kashmiri Muslim terrorist groups. The terrorist killings have been accompanied by torture unheard of in the annals of human history. Torture deaths have been brought about by inhuman practices such as strangulation, lynching, branding with red hot irons, draining of blood, slicing, gouging of eyes before assassination, raping before killing, breaking of limbs, dragging to death, drowning alive and

dismemberment of body. Although the sufferance of Kashmiri Hindus dates back to the fourteenth century, yet it reached new heights during the period 1989-90 when an armed struggle was unleashed against the Pandit community of Kashmir. One thousand of its members were killed; more than one hundred of its cultural symbols and places of worship were destroyed and more than 20000 of Pandit houses burnt. The whole community was forced to leave its homeland, Kashmir, and take refuge in Jammu, Delhi, Udhampur and some other cities in India.

The terrorist violence did not spring suddenly. In 1947, when the political power passed on to the 'democratic government' in J&K State, the community of Pandits was soon subjected to a process of exclusion and liquidation. They were reduced to a position wherefrom they could not assert politically. This process was further strengthened with the presence of Islamic fundamentalism and terrorism. A situation arose, with a lightening speed, during the night of intervening 19-20th January 1990, which made it clear to the community in Kashmir that their lives and properties, their honour and religion, their families and women-folks in particular were seriously endangered. Hell was let loose when the tape-recorded message, urging the Kashmiri Muslims to rise against India and the Pandits to save and protect Islam were beamed, throughout the night, from mosques. Simultaneously, targeting members of the Pandit community, molestation, and selective killings took place.

All this ultimately resulted in the mass exodus of 3,50,000 members of the community. It needs to be mentioned here that an equal number of Kashmiri Hindus had been already hounded out of Kashmir since 1947 due to various 'reasons'.

Misfortunes never come alone. One facet of the multidimensional human rights violation against the Kashmiri Pandits is the health trauma – physical, mental and psychological, resulting from the forced exodus of their community. They, after their exodus, became victims of heat-strokes, accidents, tropical diseases, pulmonary diseases, renal colics, skin diseases, sexual and reproductive problems, low birth-rate, insomnia, loss of appetite and feeling of depression. The prevalence of diabetes among the Kashmiri Pandit displaced people has suddenly assumed epidemic proportions. The displaced community, which has survived homelessness, terrorism and economic deprivation, now faces the threat of

biological extinction through the ravages of diabetes, with all the accompanying impediments including the impotence and low birth-rate.

The Kashmiri Pandit displaced community today faces the threat of survival, extinction and dismemberment. Thanks to the country's policy of neglect and apathy, the community is subjected to apartheid in its own country. In 1993, when the National Human Rights Commission (NHRC) was established in India, the Kashmiri Pandits, for the first time in recent history, found a forum where its miserable plight might find the long awaited redress and cure. It is now for the last five years, after submitting full-fledged reports, regarding the human rights violations to NHRC, that the Pandit Community of Kashmir awaits the Commission's decree regarding genocide, exodus and apartheid of the Kashmiri Pandit Community. But the other fact is that the Union of India and the Government of J&K have converted the battle of human rights into a war of vicious legal and technical formulations which has raised questions even on the jurisdiction of NHRC over the J&K State. The Government of India used 'Migrant' nomenclature for the displaced people to hide the real nature of their displacement. I fear that the Government of India continues to be in deep slumber. But before it is too late, I would request this august house to permit me to invite the intervention of UN bodies particularly UNESCO to take care of the Internally Displaced Community of the Kashmiri Pandits. My suggestion has no political angle to be otherwise misconstrued. It is the prime duty of the world conscience to save a dying ethnic group, its language, its cultural tradition, its religion, its education and its homogeneity. Does the UN body actually need any permission to initiate a process for saving the humanity or a part of it? I hope it is not so.

My community, even in this state of neglect, will not lag behind in asking the relevant authorities both in India and in the UN for creation of a process for investigating and prosecuting the forces responsible for genocide, exodus and apartheid of the Kashmiri Pandit community. I plead for such a situation due to my deep sense of duty towards history. Nuremberg trials took many years to take shape and I believe the truth has to prevail sooner or later. In order to bring the tangible results regarding the situation of internally displaced community of Kashmiri Pandits, I suggest that :

1. A full-fledged authority at the level of UNESCO be established to save the culture, language, education and religion of the Kashmiri Pandit displaced community.
2. The UNESCO with its instrumentalities in India be instructed to immediately take cognizance of the matter and initiate a process of relief to the needy.
3. A group consisting of UNESCO officials, the Government representatives and the community leaders be formed to discuss and decide upon important issues of concern regarding the community.
4. The community leaders be imparted training in human rights and their application.
5. A Summit be called at a higher level at UNESCO H/Q to consider the issues of internal displacement in general and Kashmiri Pandit displacement in particular, since this issue has not been given as much importance earlier as it needed.

We have assembled in the city of Pune. The city of Pune has thrown dazzling lights of knowledge throughout its history. I pray that this Conference at Pune, alongwith the knowledge, bestows wisdom upon all of us, enabling us to decide what is right and what is wrong. I have in my humble way, made a historically conscious effort to put on record the facts regarding an issue which many, for their own reasons, would try to hide. I enjoin upon all to pick up the thread and initiate a process that would save the community of Kashmiri Pandits, with a recorded and written history of 5000 years, from plunder and further disintegration, annihilation and extinction. If we fail as a society or as a nation or as humanity to address this key issue today, it will be anyone tomorrow in the same distress. It may be you or he or anyone. A step today is a stride tomorrow. Therefore let us arise and awake and prove ourselves to be an inspiration for the generations to come. Thank you.

Report of Rapporteurs

Asia and Pacific Regional Conference on

'Education for Human Rights'

Pune, India 3-6 February 1999

Organized jointly by

- World Peace Centre, MAER's MIT, Pune
 - UNESCO, Paris; Office of the High Commissioner for Human Rights, Geneva.
 - National Human Rights Commission of India
 - Indian National Commission for Co-operation with UNESCO
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1. Recognition and thanks

Participants of the **Asia and Pacific Regional Conference on Education for Human Rights** wish to pay tribute in the first instance to the vision of the organizers and the team of people whose efforts made this conference possible. In particular, the participants wish to recognize and are grateful for the enormous contributions offered by the Chairman of the Conference Organizing Committee, Dr. Vishwanath D. Karad, members of the Advisory Council, and the Chief Patrons – in particular the Honourable Dr. Frederico Mayor, Director-General of UNSECO in Paris and his staff. Participants have also been exceptionally well served by the willing and helpful support of the team of volunteers assembled for this event and take this opportunity to extend warm thanks and appreciation for all their assistance. Gratitude is extended also to the wider community of MIT and the city of Pune for their warm and welcoming hospitality.

2. Thematic basis of conference deliberations

Readers are urged to refer to the published conference papers for further detail.

As Dr. Karad noted in his, welcome address that the timing of the conference at the sunset of the twentieth century and the unique nature of the event, being the first international gathering of its kind for the Asia Pacific region, provided a timely opportunity to canvass some of the great challenges and opportunities in human rights education for the new millennium.

One of the great advantages of an international gathering is the opportunity to share reflections, achievements, failures, challenges and ideas for future opportunities and to learn from the experiences of others. The conference provided a forum through which the commonality of regional concerns was highlighted as well as a platform through which peculiarly national issues of concern were also raised.

Discussions and deliberations of the conference were underpinned by six key points of recognition:

- That education is a fundamental human right and a precondition to the universal enjoyment of human rights.
- That education for human rights is a crucial tool for strengthening civil society, enhancing and enjoyment of human rights by all – especially the most disadvantaged in our communities – and protecting the vulnerable from abuses of power and excesses of those in authority.
- That rights are always balanced by responsibilities
- That the philosophical underpinnings and practical application of education imperatives cut across both the formal and non-formal sectors,
- That the non-government sector plays a crucial role in the advancement of rights education, and
- That the goal of human rights education is the creation of a culture of human rights that cuts across all sectors in society – across economic, political, social, religious and cultural divides and which works for the common good of all people.

(a) Regional Challenges

This report notes that the Pune Declaration adopted by the conference embraces a detailed summation of the very practical challenges confronting the Asia Pacific region as we move into the new century. Presentations at the conference canvassed these challenges comprehensively. They include the often adverse and detrimental social and economic circumstances facing the region which impact particularly hard on those suffering especially disadvantageous circumstances. The opening statements

enunciated this challenge for human rights education very clearly when it was said that the curse of poverty reduces human rights to 'meaninglessness'. Poverty is the worst of human rights violations that has bound people in subjugation for centuries. This theme of poverty as a fundamental challenge in human rights education was revisited throughout the conference.

In times of political uncertainty and change, where globalization threatens cultural integrity as well as economic stability especially in smaller and more vulnerable communities, presenters stressed that the need for human rights education is ever more urgent.

Concrete examples were provided of human rights abuses that must be met by the education imperatives including the erosion of civil rights, abuses by the military and police and the destruction of communities as a result of communal violence.

The needs of societies recovering from the violence of war or the excesses of repressive regimes were noted. In his paper on *Education for Human Rights in Cambodia*, Mr. Thun Saray said that "violence, abuses of power and human rights abuses are the normality". Mr. Thun Saray outlined the strategies and activities of the human rights education programme the primary goal of which is to strengthen civil society and progress peaceful development.

An example was also provided from Romania. In their paper, Dr. Lidsia Elena Kozma and Dr. Emil Micu outlined the priorities given by the government to the adoption of international human rights standards, the complementary human rights programme of the Ministry of Education that addresses reforms with regards to the rights of minorities, the preservation of culture and language and the expansion of educational parameters in general.

Concerns of Pacific peoples were highlighted by Mr. Chaitanya Lakshman of the University of the South Pacific in Fiji. The Pacific region comprises one third of the globe and includes 14 independent countries, but as yet a few of them have acceded or ratified the six major international human rights instruments. But even as human rights violations continue to occur, innovative non-formal human rights education

programmes are being developed. It was noted that a very specific challenge is the need for a Pacific regional human rights organization. The conference was delighted to note that a proposal for a UNESCO chair in Human Rights for the Pacific region to be based in the South Pacific Centre for Human Rights was readily accepted by UNESCO's representatives.

(b) **National challenges**

In introducing the host city of Pune, Dr. Karan Singh paid tribute to its historical role in the spiritual regeneration of India and as a centre of social reform and the home of great thinkers and leaders. Speakers from the host country India highlighted the interweaving educational principles and the practical application of education programmes at both the formal and non-formal sectors.

Vigorous debate about the myriad challenges in and priorities for human rights education within the host country was voiced in the conference. **From Kashmir in the north, from where internally displaced victims of communal and other violence raised pleas for help***; from Tamil Nadu in the south where human rights and welfare educationists are working with the very poorest women and children; to educationists working with limited resources, the voice of Indian commitment to human rights education was heard strongly.

(c) **Challenges in the formal and non-formal education sectors**

Presentations and discussion at the conference also embraced a comprehensive discussion of the styles and focus of education initiatives and the broad canvass on which such initiatives must be refined and developed. The conference highlighted the very diverse nature of education priorities in the formal and non-formal sectors. The development of curriculum, specific training modules for use by teachers in the school context; the urgent need for human rights training programmes directed towards the military and police through the community based training and education models for women and children in particular were highlighted.

As an example for 'formal sector' education programs, Mr. Bruce Coleman provided an outline of the school based education programme of the New Zealand Human Rights Commission. This programme has focused on a review of the curriculum content of primary and secondary schools throughout the country and a complete re-write of such curricula to embrace broad human rights concepts including leadership, rights and responsibilities and social justice.

Many examples were provided of creative and situation-specific education initiatives undertaken to address particular needs. Papers by Mr. Jefferson Plantilla of Human Rights Osaka and Mr. Lakshman of Fiji provided comprehensive descriptions of non-formal education initiative across a broad range of community, institutional, regional and cultural sectors. The need to tackle human rights education of the military, the police, the civil service, health providers and the media was a recurring theme.

From a different perspective the crucial role played by media in shaping and influencing public opinion and in human rights education and awareness was also raised.

The non-formal education sector in India is vigorous and sweeping in its breadth of activities and notable for its embrace, and guidance of spiritual and philosophical teachings. This approach is widely reflected in the presentations.

3. Summary

Participants have heard from a broad range of speakers representing issues of national and international concern, and from diverse philosophical and practical perspectives. In his opening address Dr. Karan Singh highlighted the four pillars of education:

- Learning to know – putting new technologies to use for the benefit of the welfare of humanity and the eradication of poverty, not the eradication of the poor.
- Learning to do—in which he urged people not simply to be consumers of information but to continue to be grappled by conscience in the application of that information.
- Learning to be – in which he referred to one's aesthetic responsibilities.

- Learning to live together – we can reach to the moon, the planets and the stars but we have not yet learned to live together.

Participants were also reminded of the contexts in which the challenge of human rights education was being faced. It is now time that the philosophers, educationists, social scientists and other intellectuals join hands together to set things right.

Perhaps the most inspirational perspectives came from young people themselves in the youth session where a succession of dazzling young intellectuals presented perspectives on human rights education from the voice of youth.

4. Recommendation for future action

The Pune Declaration outlines the formal outcomes and recommendations of the conference. However the reporters would like to draw attention to some suggestions contained both in papers and in informal discussion.

Presenters reflected, to some extent, a commonality of concerns perhaps best summarized by Mr. Akram H. Chowdyury of Bangladesh including lack of government policy on education, lack of enthusiasm in organizations of authority such as the police and lack of adequate training materials and trainers, and called for the development of methodologies and policies to address these concerns.

In discussion, participants have indicated that a very constructive future action would be a collaboration on and sharing of specific educational initiatives in both the formal and non-formal sectors. Such a conference or gathering would be very practically oriented, taking as its focus an assessment and review of teaching and curriculum models and a frank accounting of achievements and failures in human rights education programmes.

This sharing of expertise and resources will go some way towards alleviating the unnecessary duplication of services and programmes; fast tracking successful/effective education models, sharing precious resources and expertise and preventing the implementation of models that has not achieved results of their expected outcomes.

Another specific outcome proposed in discussion is a meeting to enhance the skills of human rights advocates and educators in utilizing media and mass communication skills for the enhancements of their work, such a meeting to also provide a forum to engage with media organizations themselves about human rights education priorities.

It is hoped that UNESCO will give consideration to such opportunities at the earliest possible opportunity.

*** The Kashmiri Pandit displaced community was represented by Sh. Ashwani Kumar Chrungoo, President, Panun Kashmir Movement(PKM) at the Conference.**

Address delivered by :

Ashwani Kumar Chrungoo,
President, Panun Kashmir Movement(PKM)
& Chairman, Human Rights Committee,
India
Ph.: 0191-2533252

Conference on Human Rights
(The Hague, Netherlands; 4-6 July, 2003)

Hon'ble Chairman,
Distinguished Ladies and Gentlemen,

It is my privilege to be here amongst all of you in this historically important Conference on Human Rights at the historically important venue – Den Haag (The Hague).

I represent the minority Pandit community of Kashmir. The Hindus of Kashmir are generally known as Kashmiri Pandits. Consequent upon the genocide and ethnic cleansing in Kashmir, my community has been forced to live as refugees in its own country- India, that is Bharat. We have over five thousand years of written history testifying to our living in Kashmir. The Neelmata Purana and Rajtarangni establish that we are the aborigines and the indigenous people of Kashmir. Kashmir has been the cradle for the growth of our culture, religion, art, architecture and philosophy. The philosophical, religious and scholarly attainments of our ancestors in Kashmir Shaivism have been acknowledged since early times. It is, therefore, that we are usually referred to as Kashmiri Pandits. The Kashmiri Pandits have the distinction of being the messengers of Buddhism to Tibet, China, Ladakh and Central Asia. Besides being the pioneers of Vaishnava art and architecture, Advaita, Sarvastvadin school of Buddhist philosophy and Sanskrit literature, the Kashmiri Pandits have volumes of scientific and geographical research to their credit. The snow clad mountain peaks of Kashmir and its rivers, springs, lakes, meadows and forests have a place of pride and a role in our culture and religion. Our shrines, temples and archeological monuments are

found in every nook and corner of Kashmir. The world famous and unique "Ice Lingam" of Amarnath cave, colour-changing spring of Kheerbhawani at Tulamula, Srinagar, Sharika Bhagwati shrine at Hariparbat, Shankaracharya temple at Srinagar, Martand temple of Mattan and Sharda Mata temple on the banks of Krishenganga (now in Pakistan Occupied Kashmir-POK) tell many things which the world needs to know.

Respect for human dignity cuts across cultures. The values held by different peoples are at the roots of universality. Procedures and practices may vary, but at the fundamental level people desire some values to nourish. The belief that human beings are free and equal is universal, and it gives birth to right to life, freedom and expression. The Universal Declaration of Human Rights and the International Covenants (International Covenant on Civil and Political Rights and the International Covenant on Economic, Social and Cultural Rights) adopted by the General Assembly of the United Nations underline the Universal recognition of Human Rights. The Declaration makes it obligatory for all people and all organs of the society including invariably the State to protect and promote Human Rights.

We are the law abiding and peace loving people, not seething with and consumed by inspired hate, deception and fanaticism covered under a false religious cloak. The core agenda of the Muslim majority in Kashmir is to establish an absolute and exclusive claim on the territory of Kashmir. This goal has almost been achieved through the Islamization of the territory, by aggrandizement & encouraging intolerant way of life in every field; political, social and economic. The total political, social and religious structures of all shades in the valley of Kashmir converge on this point, notwithstanding their mutual disagreements in approach.

It started with Muslim majoritarianism and Muslim precedence in all walks of life marked with fundamentalism, corresponding to the global 'Pan-Islamic Movement'. The Kashmiri Pandits are the real and pure aborigines of the Valley and doing away with them continues to be an essential ingredient of their (fundamentalists') agenda. The slow and silent but continuous exodus from 1947 to 1989 followed by genocide and forced mass exile of the Kashmiri Pandit community is the visible consequence of the ruthless execution of this common agenda. The massacres of the left-out Kashmiri Pandits in the valley are the

consequences of this nefarious design. The wave of Talibinisation of the sensitive and strategic territories in the South Indian Region has also found nursing grounds in the Kashmir Valley where the global Islamic forces and finances have taken routes. This has given a fillip to the grand design of Islamisation of Kashmir. The genocide and ethnic cleansing of the aborigines comprising Kashmiri Pandits, and Islamisation of the territory have almost been completed and accomplished.

Due to the genocide and ethnic cleansing in Kashmir at the hands of the fundamentalists and terrorists, the Pandit community of Kashmir has suffered enormously. The tip of the iceberg is presented here :

* Killings due to organized massacres	-More than 1000 members
* Vandalization, loot, arson and burning of cultural symbols and shrines	- 250 to 300
* Burning of residential and commercial properties	- 25,000
* Deaths due to snake bites, accidents and other diseases (after exodus from Kashmir)	- More than 3000 members
* Number of members of the Pandit community who were forced to live in exile	- 5,00,000
* Diseases that have overtaken the members of the community	- Renal failure, Heart disease, Cancer, Diabetes and hypertension

In spite of all this, Kashmiri Pandit community, over the last 14 years of exile, has continued its struggle for a dignified life. The struggle of the exiled Pandits over the last 14 years has made the international community aware about the territorial claim of Kashmiri Pandits (the aborigines of the land) on the valley. By raising the issue of genocide, exodus and ethnic cleansing in its true perspective mostly by the Pandits themselves, both at the national and the international level, at various forums and through the media, we have succeeded in educating the world opinion of the real facts. It is because of these efforts that Muslim political structures of Kashmir feel embarrassed and frustrated by the political implications of Kashmiri Pandit assertion and determination viz-a-viz their claim on Kashmir territory as aborigines of the valley. The displaced Pandits express themselves freely while in exile, being out of the clutches of Muslim fundamentalists and terrorists. For us this was not

possible while living in the valley under suppressing and suffocating conditions created by the established Muslim majoritarianism and Muslim precedence in all walks of life. Here I would like to quote excerpts from some important findings, orders and reports of the accredited Human Rights bodies and institutions:

After undergoing a series of discussions with the Panun Kashmir Movement(PKM) and the Government representatives on the REPORT submitted by the PKM, the National Human Rights Commission of India referred the case to its court that made the following important findings in the order dated 11.6.1999:

- i) The crimes committed against the Kashmiri Pandits are, by any yard stick, deserving of the strongest condemnation;
- ii) Whether the Commission looks to the data provided by the complainants, or to that provided by the State Government or the Union of India, the facts are, beyond question, stark and tragic;
- iii) There can be no gainsaying the acute suffering and deprivation of the community;
- iv) Commission is constrained to observe that acts akin to genocide have occurred in respect of the Kashmiri Pandits;
- v) In the minds of and utterances of some of the militants a "genocide type design" may exist;
- vi) The community of the Pandits has felt that it has not been given the understanding and the reliefs it deserved and to which it is entitled. The Commission has empathy for their feelings. There is no doubt as to the immense suffering caused to the Kashmiri Pandit community by the acts of terrorists and militants active in the Valley of Kashmir, particularly in the period starting in the later part of 1989;
- viii) There is a general view that some 3,00,000 Kashmiri Pandits have had to leave the Valley for reasons of terror unleashed in their home state and conditions of insecurity that they experienced as a result;

**Hiram Ruiz, a policy analyst at the US Committee for Refugees reports
(PTI-Washington Aug. 12,1998)**

“ The fundamentalist terrorists had driven the Pandits out by systematic ethnic cleansing.....

There were 250,000 displaced Pandits in camps at the peak”

The J&K High Court Verdict

(Jammu. Apr 6, 2000- report published in Daily Excelsior)

“The conditions which forced Kashmiri Pandits to migrate from the Valley in 1990 cannot be equated with any other situation”. The court observed -“the entire valley had been declared as disturbed by an Act and nearly two and a half lakh people had to leave the permanent place of abode. The migration has no comparison.”

Frank Pallone, Demoratic Congressman in US:

(UNI, Washington, July 15, 1999)

“I along with fellow law makers plead for describing the treatment meted out to the Pandits in the trouble-torn State as genocide I hope that the attention of the United States and the world community will finally focus on the long-ignored plight of the Pandits.”

Amnesty International report

(London-AI Report, Aug. 1997)

“Among the civilian population, Hindus have been frequently targeted by the armed opposition groups (in Kashmir). Estimated 2,50,000 to 3,00,000 have fled the Kashmir valley since armed opposition groups’ activities manifested in late 1989 and taken refugee in Hindu majority area- Jammu or in camps in and around New Delhi.

Those that have stayed behind in Kashmir have been subjected to frequent abuse by armed opposition groups (Islamic terrorists). Dozens of killings have been reported over the last few years.”

Besides this, the agriculture, horticulture and other commercial properties of the Pandits in Kashmir are under the illegal and unauthorized occupation of the local Muslim population of the Kashmir Valley for the last thirteen years of exile of the Pandits. Passing of

an Act regarding immovable property of the displaced Pandits in Kashmir by the J&K State Legislature even could not give any relief to the Pandit community in this regard.

In addition to what has been stated above, the Pandits of Kashmir declare that they are the first and natural party to Kashmir and have a valid & legal territorial claim on Kashmir as the indigenous people and aborigines of Kashmir. In the event of the Muslims of Kashmir being made a party to the negotiations between India and Pakistan on Kashmir, the Kashmiri Pandits stake their claim for being a party to the negotiations at all levels and further declare that they shall achieve their goal even at the cost of their lives. It is for this august house to ponder, discuss and suggest the ways and means that shall help pull out the minority Pandit community of Kashmir from the morass it is wallowing in.

We are reminded by the great noble laureate Alexander Solzhenitsin that in keeping silent about evil, in burying it so deep within us that no sign of it appears on the surface, we are implanting it, and it will rise again a thousand fold in future. When we neither punish nor reproach the evil doers, we are ripping the foundations of justice of which no trace will be left for our future generations for protection against evil.

Thank you.

* * *

**Kashmiri Pandit victims of organized massacres by Islamic Terrorists in
J&K State**

(After the event of exodus from Kashmir in 1990)

14 th Aug., 1993 - Sarthal (Doda)	- Sh. Kanya Lal Dooda
7 th June, 1995 – Bhadarwah (Doda)	- Sh. Ruchir Kumar Koul
21 st March, 1997 – Sangrampora (Budgam)	- Sh. Avtar Krishen Pandita
	- Sh. Piyrey Lal Pandita
	- Sh. Trilokinath Bhat
	- Sh. Bhushan Lal Bhat
	- Sh. Dilip Kumar Bhat
	- Sh. Vijay Bhat
	- Sh. Sanjay Bhat
15 th June, 1997 – Gool (Udhampur)	- Sh. Satish Kumar Bhat
	- Sh. A.K.Raina
	- Sh. Ravinder Kaboo
26 th January, 1998 Wandhama, (Srinagar)	- Sh. Moti Lal
	- Smt. Choti
	- Sh. Sanjay Kumar
	- Ms. Seema Kumari
	- Ms. Sarika
	- Ms. Vijay Kumari
	- Sh. Venan Kumar
	- Ms. Neema
	- Sh. Kashinath
	(Contd....)

26 th January, 1998 Wandhama, (Srinagar)	- Sh. Vinod Kumar
	- Sh. Shadi Lal
	- Smt. Shadi Lal
	- Sh. Vikas
	- Sh. Akshay
	- Sh. Badrinath
	- Smt. Asha Ji
	- Sh. Vinod Kumar
	- Ms. Jyoti
	- Ms. Meenakshi
	- Sh. Rakesh
	- Sh. Vishnoo Bhat
	- Smt. Dulari
	- Sh. Trilokinath
5 th Feb., 2000- Telwani (Anantnag)	- Anshu
	- Sh. Ashok Kumar
	- Sh. Veer Ji Kumar
4 th March, 2000 – Brariangan (Anantnag)	- Sh. Brijnath Bhat
6 th March, 2000 – Pethibug (Anantnag)	- Smt. Nirmala Raina
23 rd March, 2003 – Nadimarg (Pulwama)	- Smt. Asha Jee
	- Ms. Rekha Jee
	- Ms. Girja Kumari
	- Princy
	- Ms. Sushma
	- Ms. Geeta Devi

(Contd....)

23 rd March, 2003- Nadimarg (Pulwama)	- Smt. Sooma Wati
	- Ms. Rajni Kumari
	- Ms. Suman Ji
	- Smt. Chand Rani
	- Sh. Lassa Koul
	- Sh. Bansi Lal
	- Sh. Rakesh Kumar
	- Sh. Mohan Lal
	- Sh. Pradiman Krishen
	- Sh. Amit Kumar
	- Sh. Lok Nath
	- Ms. Preetma Kumari
	- Sh. Avtar Krishen
	- Sh. Bansi Lal
	- Sh. Triloki Nath
	- Sh. Radha Krishen
	- Sh. Manish
	- Sh. Suraj Kumar

* * *

The names of the Kashmiri Pandits killed in the bomb blasts, mine blasts, loot, Fidayeen attacks, combat operations, suicide bombings, arson, railway and bus explosions are not included here.

Our salutes to those Kashmiri Pandit martyrs who sacrificed their lives for the last fifteen years while combating terror and terrorism in the State of Jammu & Kashmir.

SECTION -II
POLITICAL AFFAIRS

The Beginning

The exodus of Kashmiri Pandits in 1989-90 raised a pertinent question whether the Kashmiri Pandits could live again in the valley of Kashmir as a community!

This question brought to the fore a bunch of other issues which the Kashmiri Pandits were required to debate, discuss and opine upon finally. The first half of the year 1990 forced the Pandits to recollect the horrific tales of Kashmir. In fact each and every Kashmiri Pandit had his own story of horror, forcing him finally to leave his birthland. Selective killings, abductions, rapes, arson and mayhem were the order of the day in the valley. The whole community was on the roads in Jammu, Udhampur and partially in Delhi. This was the most horrible part of the period of exile. It was a very difficult and confusing scenario for Kashmiri Pandits in their early days of exile to even think beyond the issues pertaining to their immediate survival. However, a number of committed young men, who were previously active in the valley under the banner of Hindu Yuvak Forum, reorganized themselves and decided to address the fundamental question:- Can Kashmiri Pandits again live in Kashmir as a community?

They decided to hold a 2-day convention, under the banner of the then virtually defunct ASKPC(Yuvak Sabha), at Jammu in the month of July, 1990. A hard labour was put in to activate the Yuvak Sabha and finally the 'Kashmiri Hindu Convention' was organized on 13-14 July, 1990 at Jammu. The Convention was attended by 500 delegates and in all eight resolutions were passed. The political resolution which founded the Kashmiri Pandit political movement in exile was in the form of Resolution No.4. On the fundamentals of this resolution, the Margadarshan Conference(attended by 1,000 delegates in December, 1991 at Jammu) adopted and proclaimed the historical Homeland Resolution. We here begin with the Resolution No.4 of 1990.

Resolutions passed in the Kashmiri Hindu Convention
held on 13-14th July 1990 at Jammu

RESOLUTION 4
FUTURE SETTLEMENT OF KASHMIRI HINDUS

CONTEXT & OBJECTIVE

Democracy was a new phenomenon for the people of the subcontinent at the time when Muslim League started making its presence felt in British India. There was neither a past experience nor any historical evidence to support the idea or operation of a separate homeland for Muslims. Still the decision was forced on the people of India, partly due to the stubborn attitude of the Muslim League, and partly due to the malafide perceptions of the British masters of India. The process of the development of a democratic secular thought, therefore, was distorted with the introduction of a **two-nation theory** quite in its infancy. This became a guiding factor for granting a special status, within the constitutional framework of India, to the people of Jammu and Kashmir in the name of preserving their distinct Islamic character and identity: and thus, the integration of the State of Jammu and Kashmir with India was made conditional.

The Muslim fundamentalists and the Pakistani agents in Kashmir made the best use of the special provisions accorded to the State under Article 370 and were successful in gradually annihilating the foundations of the Kashmiri culture, and replacing it with a rigid Islamic order that had no room for the catholic Kashmiri tradition.

The political and social persecution of the Hindu minority in the Valley forced its talented and meritorious youth to migrate to other parts of the country. Not content with the slow pace of migration of the Kashmiri Hindu population from the Valley over the past forty

years, **the Kashmiri Muslims, to give it a new fillip, resorted to physical violence** against the minuscule Hindu minority. Both the Central and the State Government utterly failed in their duty to provide security to the fleeing Hindus from the valley till the migration of the Hindus achieved the proportion of '**a forced mass exodus**'.

As a result of the exodus, the Kashmir Hindu community has once again been brought to the point of extinction. Such calamities befell on us also during the times of **Ranchen, Sikandar Butshikan and Aurangzeb** in the medieval times whenever the fundamentalist forces succeeded in subjugating and destroying the Kashmiri tradition and culture through sheer force of barbaric violence. We have been once again made the victims of this barbaric onslaught by the Muslim fundamentalists due to the total neglect and apathy of the Government of India that allowed the Pak agents, the Muslim fundamentalists and the State Government to engineer and execute the conspiracy to secede from India.

The Kashmiri Hindu became a target and was victimized only because he was loyal to India and because he did not join the secessionists and the fundamentalists, and thus has paid a heavy price for being a representative of thousands of years old culture of India and an upholder of the Kashmiri tradition. Needless to say that in his extinction lies the extinction of a culture that has developed and blossomed in Kashmir for more than past fifty centuries. The Kashmiri Hindu, today, has acquired the status of an endangered civilization and a culture and thus it becomes an obligation of the whole humanity, more so of the Hindu world, to restore to him his home and his land and take appropriate measures to guarantee him a dignified existence.

The Kashmiri Hindu has an ethnic, moral and legal right over Kashmir; and no power or authority can deny him this fundamental right. The displaced Hindus are yearning to return to the land of their ancestors and their birth. But their return to their land will not be possible unless a fundamental change is brought about in the socio-political fabric of Kashmir, and by denying it the special privileges that have led to Muslim precedence and ascendancy will

continue. This has been amply brought out in Resolution no.3 on the Grand Design of Muslim Precedence. The Government should have the courage and political sagacity to accept this resolution in toto, in the interest of national integrity.

Resolution

Given this context, the house unanimously resolves that in case the political leadership and the system lack the will to face these hard truths and act in the fitness of things, that is abrogate the special status accorded to J&K, change the population composition and grant to the Hindus of the State right to equality and protection against discrimination on the basis of religion, right to participate in the political, social and economic development of the State and other provisions resolved unanimously in the resolution on "**grand design of Muslim precedence**", the Kashmiri Hindu minority has the legal and constitutional right to demand the following for an honourable return to its land.

1. The scattered Kashmiri Hindu minority should be reorganized in a manner that will create a security zone with concentrated Hindu population in the Valley, so as to accommodate five lakh Kashmiri Hindus including those who migrated from Kashmir in the past due to political and economic compulsions, and having been deprived of their due share in the affairs of the State, especially Kashmir province.
2. Special constitutional guarantees be provided to the minority Hindu population of Kashmir to ensure the security of its honour, life and prosperity, and preservation of its cultural heritage.
3. Special economic provisions be guaranteed to the members of the minority Hindu community to ensure a sense of economic security in them.
4. Creation of suitable conditions and incentives for the return of those members of the minority community to Kashmir who left Kashmir in the past.

5. Licensed arms be provided to every family of the minority, along with suitable training in the use of fire arms.

These demands are not only just but are also well founded in the experience of the past forty years in the context of the politics in Kashmir. In case the demand of the Kashmir Muslim leadership for a special status of Kashmir in the name of preserving its Muslim identity was found genuine and just, without any historical experience and logical reasoning, **the Kashmiri Hindu is more justified in claiming these in the light of the vandalism inflicted on him that is not only threatening his existence but along with it is declaring the annihilation and extinction of a cultural tradition of five thousand years.**

* * * * *

RESOLUTION NO-5

Quasi Permanent Settlement

Till the modalities for implementation of this plan, as envisaged in Resolution 4, are set in motion and steps taken in this direction, it is the moral responsibility of the Govt. to provide an honourable and decent living to the uprooted families belonging to the Hindu minority of Kashmir. For this purpose we propose the following: -

1. Quasi permanent settlements be established in geographically and climatically suitable areas with pukka houses outside the Kashmir Valley with all the essential services of health, education, transport, electricity and communication available in them for the displaced families.
2. Adequate compensation be provided to all the affected families whose members have been killed and, or, whose properties have been gutted or damaged in the terrorist violence or during their absence from their homes.
3. All the Govt. servants belonging to the Hindu minority and serving in the Valley be immediately transferred to safer places outside the Valley along with their posts, including those belonging to the essential services.
4. The educational facility be immediately provided to the students belonging to the Hindu minority who have been displaced from the Valley, and they should immediately be given admissions in schools, colleges and post graduate institutions outside the Valley.
5. Children of the displaced families who are undergoing professional training in or outside the state be given educational loans immediately.
6. Private entrepreneurs and private employees should be given incentives and financial aid for starting business, trade and industries.

7. Those of the displaced members of the Hindu minority who owe loans or other liabilities to the banks or other financial institutions should be exempted from payment of these and also interest on direct or indirect tax on their properties or industrial units till the time they safely return to the Valley and resume their normal life.
8. An inventory of the property left behind by the Hindus in the Valley should be immediately prepared and copies of the same, besides being kept with the Kashmiri Hindu institutions, should also be kept for purpose of records in the offices of the concerned Deputy Commissioners/Tehsildars. And till a settlement is arrived at with regard to these properties, a Board be constituted to the satisfaction of the displaced Hindus, that shall be the custodian of these properties.

Anyhow it should not be construed from this Resolution that we are diluting our stand as resolved in Resolution 4. The goals put forth in that resolution will remain the guiding factor for any struggle for our return to our land of birth and faith. It is and shall always remain the guiding light for the survival of our ethnic identity and our cultural tradition.

...

HOME LAND RESOLUTION OF MARGDARSHAN-1991

28-12-1991; JAMMU(INDIA)

The terrorist violence, which has ravaged the State of Jammu and Kashmir for the last four years, is the culmination of the long secessionist movement carried on by the fundamentalist forces in Kashmir since 1947 and overtly and covertly supported by Pakistan. Terrorism in Kashmir is a Muslim religious crusade aimed at the secession of the state from the Republic of India and its merger with Pakistan. It is founded on an ideological struggle of which the main tenets are: -

1. That Kashmir which has a majority Muslim population should become a part of Pakistan on the basis of religion;
2. That all institutions which stand for secularism and democracy be destroyed and all individuals or groups that vouch for equality, justice and religious tolerance be eliminated;
3. That the rich cultural traditions of Kashmir hallowed over more than five thousand years of its history be demolished and replaced by Islamic fundamentalism;

Pakistan is deeply involved in its attempts to subvert the constitutional and administrative machinery of the State of Jammu and Kashmir in order to strain and snap the relations between the State and the Republic of India. Its abetment in the terrorist violence by lending moral, political and military support is common knowledge. The terrorist operatives in Jammu & Kashmir are being trained in the camps raised for this purpose in Pak held Kashmir and the neighbouring State of Pakistan and then pushed into India to cause large scale anarchy, destruction, arson, murder, molestation and rape.

The Kashmiri Hindus became the first victims of terrorism as a result of which they had to flee the place of their abode. The Hindus in Kashmir have, right from the dawn of freedom, faced and fought communalism and fundamentalism. They are a part of the Vedic heartland of India and have lived in Kashmir from time immemorial. In fact they are the original inhabitants of the valley of Kashmir, now reduced to an ethnic minority, with a history of more than five thousand years, dating back beyond the "Neelmata Era" almost contemporary to the Vedic civilization of India. The Hindu religious precepts have borne the message of universal peace, brotherhood and co-existence of all creeds and faiths. The Hindus of Kashmir are the progenitors of "Shakt" and Shaivite Monism and Hinyan and Sarvastvastvadin Buddhism which spread to Central Asia, Tibet and western China. They propounded the great Shaivite doctrine of Trika and the theory of recognition. Kalhana, Jonaraja, Prajbhat, Shuka and Shrivara, the great masters of history compiled the historical chronicle of Rajatarangini. The Hindu Kingdom of Kashmir reached its zenith with the ascendance of the Karkotas when Kashmir commanded respect and tribute from its neighbouring kingdoms till the fall of Utpalas. The ascendancy of Muslim Sultans in the thirteenth century witnessed fierce religious persecution and attempts at conversion of Kashmiri Pandits who resisted it with will, and determination, preferring death to surrender.

The Kashmiri Pandits have played a major role in the liberation struggle against the British and their colonial imperatives in the State. The secularisation of the various communal movements which rocked the State in the aftermath of the growth of Muslim separatism in India was achieved, mainly due to the efforts of the Kashmiri Pandits. They authored and sponsored the famous Declaration of National demand in 1938, which later became the secular national movement in the State. The political movement for national self-Government received its ideological content from the Kashmiri Pandits who gave the first call for self-government.

Since the independence of India and accession of Kashmir to the Indian Union, the Kashmiri Hindus have continued to fight the religious precedence as well as the separatism

which accompanied the rise of Muslim communalism. They were reduced to a plight of slavery, misery and servitude but they did not react against Muslim communalism as a communal minority. In spite of the forces arraigned against them viz Muslim fundamentalists, the Muslimised State-apparatus and the secessionist groups, the Hindus suffered at the stake to save the secular and democratic image of Kashmir and India. While resisting the orchestrated moves fostered by the Muslim communalists inside the State and their mentors in Pakistan to Islamise the State and snatch it from the Union of India, the Hindus became the victims of communal hatred and faced hostility, ridicule and privation. The Indian leaders, on the other hand, served their petty personal interests and party objectives, leaving the field open for the fundamentalists to carry out their nefarious designs. The Kashmiri Hindu was the main obstacle in the attainment of the goal of fundamentalists and was branded as the agent of the Government of India. Even a leader of the stature of Sheikh Mohammed Abdullah charged the Pandits with acting as the fifth column of India. They, thus became the victims of a dangerous irony; where on the one hand they were persecuted because of their adherence to the values of secularism and democracy enshrined in the Indian Constitution, and on the other hand they were jettisoned by the rulers of India.

The Hindus of Kashmir, because of their minority and almost negligible representation in the State legislature and bureaucracy, became the helpless onlookers of the manoeuvring, manipulation and distortion of the established democratic, constitutional and legal institutions of the State which gave rise to Muslim majoritarianism. Under this system the Kashmiri Hindu faced a deliberate, steady and relentless squeeze of his constitutional, political and legal rights and was forced into a slow exodus. In the process nearly three lakh Hindus have already left the valley during the last four decades.

The Muslim majoritarianism is inherently communal in nature. The Indian partition was not an accident of history nor was it contrived by the British to contain the Indian freedom movement. It was the culmination of the Muslim struggle for a separate Muslim majority State where the pre-eminence of the Muslim Ummah was recognized. During the last

forty years of the history of Pakistan the Hindus, who constituted nearly thirty percent of its population at the outset, are reduced to only one percent as on today. The operative designs of the Muslim communalism in Kashmir have almost been similar – the Hindus of Kashmir who formed about 9 percent of the population of Kashmir in 1947 are almost wiped out of the Kashmir Valley by now. As a part of the grand strategy for the attainment of the Islamic and fundamentalist State of Kashmir, the communal elements and terrorists are bent upon annihilating the Kashmiri Hindus, as a result of which their exodus has been made inevitable.

The terrorist violence has taken a heavy toll of unarmed, peace loving and tolerant Hindus of Kashmir valley. Hundreds of Hindus, men, women and children were brutally murdered and hundreds were subjected to inhuman torture and suffering. The community was driven out of Kashmir valley by force or on the pain of death. The properties left behind by them have been looted and their houses burnt or destroyed by dynamite. Right at present a scorched-earth policy is being followed by the terrorists by systematically burning the Hindu localities, the Hindu houses and the Hindu shrines and temples.

Kashmir history is replete with the contribution of Kashmiri Hindus to the Nation's march in general and that of Kashmir in particular. Kashmiri Hindus have served as a beacon light to the entire national polity and are the real founders of secularism and democracy in Kashmir. In the modernization of the State of Jammu & Kashmir, the Hindus have contributed much more than their share and have imparted to the Kashmiri society its scientific, progressive and humane outlook. Throughout their history, more specifically in the modern times, they have tried their utmost to live at peace with their Muslim compatriots. The secular façade, which Kashmir has worn all through the last forty three years, has been provided mainly by the Kashmiri Hindus. They have not reacted to the Muslim communalism, instead they have faced the rigours of the Muslim dominance with the fervent hope that the thrust on universal education and scientific progress in the State would pave way for the free flow of democratic thought, recognition of the human rights, the genuine urges and aspirations of the Kashmiri Hindu minorities, religious tolerance, equity and justice.

This hope is now shattered. Neither the Muslim brethren in Kashmir nor the Indian Government, which swears by secularism, came to the rescue of the Kashmiri Hindus at the time when they were being butchered and hounded out of their homes and hearths, or even at this moment when they have been uprooted and thrown into wilderness to face a life and death struggle for survival. All the constitutional guarantees for the protection of their limb, life, and property, as also their status and dignity have been trampled with impunity.

The Hindus of Kashmir, wherever they are, therefore, unequivocally declare that:-

- i) With their deep and firm commitment to social unity, religious co-existence, democracy and secularism, they will not accept a society, which is communalised, obscurantist, intolerant and medieval. They will not submit to any authority in the State which does not recognise their right to life, equality, faith and protection against discrimination. They will not be a party to the present struggle launched against secular and democratic India.
- ii) With their history of having lived and died for freedom and their open espousal of the cause of tolerance, peace, amity and brotherhood between various ethnic, social and religious groups, they cannot accept the pre-eminence and predominance of any single religious community at their cost.
- iii) Having been the original inhabitants of Kashmir from ancient times and being the inheritors of a glorious cultural tradition of more than five thousand years, the Kashmiri Pandits have as much a right to live in Kashmir as any other religious group. Preservation of this community in its natural and historical habitat is a political necessity.
- iv) The present crusade by the terrorists against the Kashmiri Pandits to drive away the last remnants of this proud community from its rightful place is a shame for the secular India in particular and the world community in general. Any measure taken to rehabilitate this community outside the Kashmir Valley

will only result in the dispersal of this community leading to its dissolution and extinction. This will be a tragedy, as the only relic of a small but distinct race with an outstanding culture will be destroyed.

- v) Because of their equal rights to the land of their birth they stake their claim to be an equal party to any future deliberations in the process of normalisation and ultimate solution of the Kashmir problem.

The Kashmiri Hindus, therefore, demand:-

- a) the establishment of a homeland for the Kashmiri Hindus in the Valley, comprising the regions of the Valley to the east and north of river Jehlum (Vitasta);
- b) that the Constitution of India be made applicable in letter and spirit in this homeland in order to ensure right to life, liberty, freedom of expression, faith, equality and rule of law;
- c) that their homeland be placed under Central administration with a Union Territory status so that it evolves its own economic and political infrastructure;
- d) that all the seven lakh Kashmiri Hindus, who include those that were driven out of Kashmir in the past and yearn to return to their homeland and those who were forced to leave on account of the terrorist violence in Kashmir, be settled in the homeland on equitable basis with dignity and honour.

Passed, Adopted and Proclaimed on December 28th 1991

KASHMIRI PANDIT GLOBAL SUMMIT
(19-20 January, 1997-Jammu, India)

A Stride in Struggle

The year 1996 witnessed two rounds of elections in the State of Jammu & Kashmir. The Lok Sabha elections in May 1996 were followed by the Assembly elections in Sept. 1996. This time the Central Government had already announced an agenda for the future Legislative Assembly in the form of 'greater autonomy' to the Jammu and Kashmir State. The slogan was more or less the same as 'any thing short of Azadi' coined by Shri P.V. Narsimha Rao some time back. It was exactly in Sep.'96 that the National Council of Panun Kashmir Movement (PKM) took a decision to build up a proper response of the Kashmiri Pandit community in an appropriate manner to 'autonomy', yielding the desired results. The other issues for which the response was needed included the return of Kashmiri Pandits to the Valley, human rights violations and redressal of other grievances.

A decision was consequently taken by the National Executive on 1st Oct. 1996 which envisaged a two-day meet of the community members to deliberate upon the issues. Hence it was decided to organize Kashmiri Pandit Global Summit at Jammu on 19th and 20th January, 1997 to coincide with the 8th anniversary of the holocaust of January 1990 against the community by the 'Jahadis' in Kashmir. The second importance of the day was that Panun Kashmir Movement (PKM) was founded on the same day in 1994. The Summit would also coincide with the 5th anniversary of Margdarshan -1991. Accordingly, Kashmiri Pandit Global Summit Organizing Committee was formed and Dr. K.L. Dhar, a reputed scientist, was elected as its Chairman and Shri Sanjay Raina was entrusted with the responsibility to co-ordinate all the affairs of the Organising Committee. The response of the community to the idea was quite encouraging and of the cadres overwhelming.

The Organizing Committee took up all the arrangements in its hands and co-opted more members from different walks of life to give the event a better shape. All India

Kashmiri Samaj (AIKS), Kashmiri Samiti –Delhi (KSD) and All India Kashmiri Pandit Conference (AIKPC) overwhelmingly supported the idea and assured Panun Kashmir Movement (PKM) of their help and guidance.

In the meantime, 100 days of the new Government in the State of Jammu and Kashmir elapsed during which nothing concrete was done by the elected Government for the Kashmiri Pandit Community with little hope for the community to have any expectations from the Government. All eyes were now focused on the Summit which was going to take place at Chanderbagha Community Centre, Canal Road, Jammu on 19th & 20th January, 1997.

Rains started pouring in on 18th January itself, putting an end to the long dry spell, that was experienced for the last three months in Jammu. The rains caused inconvenience both to the organizers as well as to the delegates to the Summit but it never affected the involvement of the people who started pouring in right from seven in the morning of 19th January '97. It was Sunday. The delegates were determined not to miss the historical event despite the rains.

The inaugural ceremony was fixed at 11a.m but the inauguration actually started at 11:30 a.m The jam-packed hall of Chanderbagha, Jammu, witnessed the glamorous opening ceremony which was marked by lighting the traditional lamp before a big portrait of Shriya Bhat by Pt. Bansi Lal Koul, Chairman, Advisory Board of Panun Kashmir Movement (PKM). Others on the dias were S/ Shri L.C. Koul, General Secretary-AIKS, M.M. Khajuria, ex-DGP J&K, G.N. Mujoo, Chairmain, KPGS Reception Committee, Smt. Nancy Kaw from Los Angles, USA and Sh. Ashwani Kumar Chrungoo, Convener, PKM. Dr. K.L. Dhar, Chairman of the Organising Committee was in the chair.

The lighting of the traditional lamp was followed by 'Vande- Mataram' and homage to the martyrs who laid their lives to save India and Indian ethos in Kashmir. The session was accordingly devoted to the sacred memory of Guru Teg Bahadur Ji, Pt. Vasudev Harkar and

Brig. Rajinder Singh. This was followed by the welcome address by Shri G.N. Mujoo, who welcomed the delegates with "Sawagat" and also thanked the Lord for the welcome rains.

Immediately after the welcome address, Sh. T.K. Jalali, a renowned composer along with his team presented a Kashmiri song written by Shri M.L. Saqi, a famous writer and poet, which read "Lag Loan Panun Takdeer- Manzil Chu Panun Kashmir". The thought-provoking song had an emotional touch, galvanising the whole atmosphere with a sense of pride and determination to achieve what was lost. With this Dr. K.L. Dhar presented his key-note address. The address inter-alia brought about the genesis of the problems of the community and emphasized the urgent need for articulating the political resolve in a new fashion, befitting the socio-political scenario in the State.

Sh.M.M.Khajuria released the much awaited souvenir which was followed by felicitations of some of the important personalities by presenting shawls to them for their worthwhile contribution to the society. They included late Shri S.K.Handoo, ex Convener of Panun Kashmir. A shawl each was presented to his daughter Miss Abhineet Handoo, Dr. M.K.Teng for his writing on the politics of the State, Sh. M.M.Khajuria for his frank approach on the Kashmir situation, Dr. Jitender Singh for his objective journalism, and Shri T.K.Jalali for his contribution to music. Shri Janaki Nath Kaul 'Kamal' was also presented a shawl for his contribution to the philosophical thought of Kashmir. He was given a standing ovation by the jam-packed hall, in recognition of his valuable contribution to the society.

After the presentation of the shawl ceremony was over, the audience was addressed by Dr.Jitender Singh and Shri Sunil Shakhthar. Smt. Nancy Kaw read out a message from Friends of Kashmir Society International (FOKSI). In the end, a vote of thanks was presented by Shri Ashwani Kumar Churungoo, Convener(PKM) who put before the audience the point of view of Panun Kashmir Movement (PKM). With this the inaugural session was concluded and Shri R.C.Koul, the Co-ordinator of the stage announced the break for lunch.

The second session was devoted to the cause of protection and promotion of human rights. The stage was conducted by Shri Vijay Handoo, Gen. Secretary-PKM. Those occupying the dais with Shri M.M.Khajuria, who presided over the session, included S/ Shri Utpal Koul, H.N.Jattu, President-AIKPC, Prof. B.L.Zutshi, Autar Krishan Kaw and Sanjay Raina.

Shri Sanjay Saraf read out the message received from His Holiness Jagat Guru Shanker Acharaya of Kanchipuram. The Acharya blessed the Summit. It was greeted with a prolonged clapping from the audience. A number of other messages which were received from various quarters were also shown to the audience.

This was followed by the resolution on protection and promotion of human rights reproduced below, which was moved by Dr. Vijay Koul:

'PROMOTION AND PROTECTION OF HUMAN RIGHTS'

RESOLUTION

"A widespread disinformation campaign has been carried on by political vested interests including the Government at the Centre and the Government in the State to provide a cover to the real objectives of the militant organizations and conceal the truth about the genocide of the Hindus in Kashmir, their exodus, the destruction and desecration of their temples and places of worship. The woe and misery of the Kashmiri Pandits having taken refuge in Jammu and other parts of India and the trauma, torture and exploitation they were subjected to, because of the indifference and apathy of the State Government, have also been deliberately concealed. Attempts, even now, are afoot to play down the dangers which the Muslim crusade in Kashmir poses to the secular character of India and the Hindus of Jammu and Kashmir State in particular.

Resolved that a Commission of Inquiry is constituted by this Summit to investigate:-

- i) the genocide of the Hindus;
- ii) exodus;
- iii) the destruction and demolition of their temples and religious shrines and the cultural symbols;
- iv) the condition of the Hindus in exile.

Resolved further that the Commission is constituted of members whose name are:

S/Shri

- 1) Dr. M.K. Teng.
- 2) Sunil Hali, Advocate
- 3) Prof. K.B. Razadan
- 4) Brij Mohan (IAS Retd)
- 5) Bansi Lal Koul
- 6) Utpal Koul
- 7) L.C. Koul
- 8) Ashwani Kr. Chrungoo
- 9) M.L. Bhat
- 10) O.N. Pandita

Resolved further that the report of the Commission be presented to the United Nations Organisation (UNO), United Nations High Commissioner for Refugees (UNHRC) and United Nations Human Rights Commission (UNHRC).

Resolved further that the Commission shall complete its report by 30th June 1997.

The panelists while speaking on the resolution gave a number of incidents of human rights violations in Kashmir. The hard-hitting speech of Shri Utpal Koul and Shri H.N.Jattu

underlined the need for relentless work on human rights. Shri Autar Krishan Kaw presented a horrifying picture of how the Kashmiri Pandits were being treated right from 1947 in the Valley by the Muslim zealots who were out and out for throwing us out. Shri Sanjay Raina, Organising Secretary-PKM gave a detailed account of human rights activities that Panun Kashmir Movement(PKM) was taking up with the National Human Rights Commission (NHRC). Prof. B.L. Zutshi concentrated on the apartheid that the community was subjected to after its genocide and exodus from the Valley. At this juncture the Resolution on human rights was passed unanimously by the audience.

The Presidential address of Shri M.M.Khajuria was heard by the audience with rapt attention. He was critical of the secessionist and terrorist forces in the Valley for the heinous crimes perpetrated upon the Hindus of Kashmir who were forced to leave their ancestral abode. He also said that he was proud to have strong bonds of relationship with the Kashmiri Hindu Community. He praised Panun Kashmir Movement(PKM) for bringing out the detailed Report in 1996 on human rights violations in Kashmir and expected that the Commission of Inquiry into Genocide, constituted in the summit, would prepare an objective report. With this the second session was concluded, followed by the session devoted to music.

This session was conducted by Shri Veer Koul, North India Co-ordinator- PKM and presented by Sh. T.K.Jalali. The artists performing the musical soiree were Sh. Vijay Malla, Ms. Archana Jalali, Ms Usha Handoo and Sh. Kamlesh Handoo-- all renowned vocalists accompanied by S/Shri Anil Koul on Tabla, Kuldeep Saproo on synthesizer, O.N.Raina on sitar and Lucky on octopad. The songs presented by the renowned artists thrilled the spectators who despite bad weather, chilly winds, and rain, remained glued to their seats with rapt attention enjoying the serene but thrilling atmosphere in the hall up to 6:30 in the evening. The proceedings of the day concluded with the close of the session. Sh. Ashwani Kumar Chrungoo, Convener-PKM thanked the artists and informed the audience that PKM would soon initiate a process which would envisage the renaissance of the rich cultural tradition of the Kashmiri Pandit community, and he also announced a three

member committee that would prepare a project report in this connection for submission to the National Council of Panun Kashmir Movement (PKM) in April this year.

The Summit was attended by a large number of intellectuals, prominent persons, camp and non-camp dwellers from within and outside the State. It also included lawyers, professionals, doctors, teachers, bureaucrats, students and political scientists.

The rains continued for the night with a little respite on 20th of Jan 1997. The activists of PKM turned up early in the morning at the venue of the Global Summit and the programme started exactly at 11 a.m with the fourth session on 'Reponse to Autonomy'. The stage was conducted by Sh. S. Krishan Koul. The panelists of the session were Dr. Hari Om, Professor at the Jammu University, Prof A..N.Sadhu, University of Jammu, Dr. Vishnu Dutt Sharma, President, Vishwa Hindu Parshad- J&K, Roop. K.Raina, IRS & Shri S.K. Koul representing Kashmiri Pandit Association NOIDA. Shri G.N.Mujoo presided over the session.

First of all late, Sh. D.N. Raina, member of the Advisory Board of Panun Kashmir Movement (PKM) was honoured posthumously by presenting a shawl to his son Shri Roop. K.Raina. Dr.Hari Om was also honoured and presented a shawl. Thereafter Sh.S.K. Koul read out the message of NOIDA Association. Immediately after this, the Resolution on Rejection of Autonomy was moved by Sh. Sanjay Raina, giving a detailed account of autonomy, its concept and practice. Dr. Hari Om while rejecting the demand stated that it was the demand of a small section in J&K State that was interested in clinging to power at any cost. He justified the rejection on technical and constitutional grounds. Prof. Sadhu dwelt at length on the technicalities involved and their implications if autonomy was granted. Dr.V.D.Sharma out-rightly rejected any attempt which would distance the J&K State from the Union of India.

The following Resolution rejecting autonomy was passed unanimously: -

'GREATER AUTONOMY REJECTED' RESOLUTION

"The war of subversion which the Muslim secessionist forces, in Jammu and Kashmir, are waging against India and the Hindus of Jammu and Kashmir State, with the support of Pakistan and several other Muslim countries, is a part of the international design of Pan-Islamic fundamentalism to extend Muslim power over the north of India. The militarisation of the secessionist movement in Jammu and Kashmir is, therefore, a part of the military offensive to reduce the Indian resistance to Pakistan's claim to Jammu and Kashmir, on the basis of the Muslim majority character of its population. The reduction in size of Jammu and Kashmir and its annexation by Pakistan, are bound to eventually lead to the disruption of the entire northern frontier of India and pave the way for the secession of Jammu and Kashmir, Punjab and Himachal Pradesh from India.

The militant operation being conducted in Jammu and Kashmir has several objectives; which are of wide ranging significance to the basic unity and its future as a nation. The Jammu and Kashmir State is the only Muslim majority State in India and its secession from India will only repeat the division of India that created the Muslim state of Pakistan in 1947. The Muslim secessionism seeking the separation of Jammu and Kashmir, is, therefore, aimed at inducting a new factor of destabilisation in India, almost on the same pattern on which the British promoted Muslim separatism in India to divide the country in 1947.

Muslim communalism and its separatist and secessionist expression in Jammu and Kashmir, have a wider portent and, therefore, deserve to be faced with determination and effect. The various policies of the successive governments of India, to provide cover to Muslim communalism in Jammu and Kashmir, out of sheer political interest and expediency, have already created a condition of civil war in the state leading to the genocide of Hindus, their exodus from the place of their birth and the disintegration of the whole political and social organization of the State. In 1947, thousands of Hindus, including Sikhs were massacred in the invasion of the State and about two lakhs of them were driven out of the

territories of the state occupied by Pakistan. In 1990, thousands of Hindus were massacred by the terrorists and the people of the whole community of Hindus, of around half a million people were driven out of the Kashmir province and the district of Doda in the Jammu Province

The successive Indian Governments have deliberately or otherwise, failed to recognize the danger posed by the Muslim militant operations in Kashmir and in fact acted in a manner which has provided fresh ground to the secessionist forces to consolidate their ranks, ignoring completely the dangerous consequences of the militarisation of the secessionist forces in Jammu and Kashmir for the security of the northern state of India, as well as the highly sensitive northern frontier.

The most vital issue which is facing the Hindus in Kashmir, in fact the Hindus in the entire State of Jammu and Kashmir, is the proposed constitutional change, which the National Conference has demanded and which the Indian Government is considering, to restore the pre-1953 status of the State. In 1953, that is before the Presidential Order of May 1954 was promulgated, only Article-1 of the Constitution of India was applicable to the State. Article 1 of the Constitution of India defines the territories of the Indian Union. No other provision of the Constitution of India was applicable to Jammu and Kashmir. Accordingly, the State was a part of the territories of the Indian Union, but it was placed outside the constitutional organization of the Indian Union. None of the provisions of the citizenship, fundamental rights and related legal guarantees, Directive Principles of the State policy, the judiciary and judicial review, elections, emergencies, national flag and language, and the division of powers between the Union Government and the State Government embodied in VII Schedule of the Constitution of India were made applicable to the State. The Government of India was vested with only such powers in regard to the State as were listed in the Instrument of Accession. Article 370 placed an absolute limitation on the application of the Constitution of India to Jammu and Kashmir.

Article 370, as it was originally envisaged, underlined a separate political organization for Jammu & Kashmir based upon the Muslim majority character of its population and the precedence of the state. The Hindus and the other minorities were relegated to the subjection of the Muslim state, during the last five decades.

The demand for the autonomous position in the State enjoyed in 1953 is aimed at undoing the partial application of the Constitution of India brought about by the Presidential Order of 1954 and subsequent order to the State and excluded it again from the Indian political organization. The aim behind the demand, to take the State out of the Indian constitution, is to prepare the ground for the total Muslimisation of its society and its conversion into a Muslim State on the territories of India.

The Kashmiri Pandit Global Summit, therefore, resolves to:-

- 1) use all available democratic means to ensure that the Government of India revises its whole policy of Jammu and Kashmir in the light of its commitment to secularism as well as the national unity of India;
- 2) denounce Article 370 as a separatist and disruptive limitation, which goes half- way to substantiate the claims of the secessionist forces in the State. It further demands that the State of Jammu and Kashmir be fully integrated in the constitutional organization of India;
- 3) expose the various aspects of Muslim communalism in Jammu & Kashmir;
- 4) take effective measures to check the threat posed by the Pan-Islamic fundamentalism with Pakistan as one of its focal centres;

- 5) chalk out a long term strategy to ensure the security and stability of the northern states of India;
- 6) put an end to the demographic change brought about by the exodus of about one million Hindus from Kashmir and Doda;
- 7) Put an end to the separate political identity of the State, based upon the Muslim majority character of its population, precedence of the Muslim majority in the Government, the society of the State and the prior right which the Muslim majority claims to determine the fundamental and human rights of the Hindus and the other minorities in the State”.

Dr. T.N.Shalla and Prof M.L.Koul from the audience also spoke and rejected the demand of autonomy. A seven member ‘Committee to Build Response to Autonomy’ was also constituted at the end of the session. With this, the President of the session announced the break for lunch.

The concluding session was presided over by Sh.B.L.Koul, Chairman, Advisory Board-PKM. The others who were on the dais included S/Shri L.C.Koul, Sunil Hali-Advocate, B.N.Thusu of Purkhoo and Ashwani Kumar. This session focused on the theme of return of Hindus to Kashmir. Originally in this session, two resolutions moved by Sh. Sanjay Saraf on the return of Hindus to Kashmir and demand of a Homeland initiated the thought provoking exercise for the panelists as well as the audience. Consequent upon the deliberations, the two resolutions were clubbed together with minor alterations. Shri Veer Koul who was conducting the stage invited the panelists to speak on the agenda. Shri.O.N.Pandita in his address dwelt upon the dangers, the community would face in case Kashmiri Pandits were forced to return without any political dispensation in the Valley. Shri Sunil Shakdhar outrightly rejected any dialogue with any quarter which does not recognize the option of Homeland in the Valley as a basis of discussion. He supported the demand of homeland and reiterated his resolve to fight for the redressal of the community’s immediate

socio-economic problems as well. Dr. S.S. Toshkhani made a fervent appeal to the audience to reject to live like slaves in a theocratic or semi-theoretic State. He declared that living like a 'Zimi' was never acceptable to the Kashmiri Pandit Community. Shri Sunil Hali explained the genesis of the political slogan that the community was in need of from centuries together. He expressed his solidarity with all those who had been involved in the struggle for survival during the last seven years of exile. He also replied some questions put forth by certain participants, taking part in the Summit. The concluding speech was made by Shri.Ashwani Kumar Chrugoo, Convener, PKM, who thanked all those who participated in the Summit and made it a historical success. He dwelt at length on the following issues: -

- 1) the concept of Margdarshan -1991.
- 2) the Islamic fundamentalism and its impact on minorities living in the system.
- 3) the political resolve necessitating the continuous struggle for survival by the Kashmiri Pandit community.
- 4) the national duty being performed by the Kashmiri Hindu Community.
- 5) unity of K.P organizations.
- 6) PKM's plan of action and
- 7) pursuance of action oriented follow-up

With this, the following resolution on the return of the Hindus to Kashmir was passed unanimously, reiterating the commitment of Kashmiri Hindus to the demand for a Union Territory on the north and east of river Vitasta (Jhelum) for 7 lakh Kashmiri Hindus.

The whole audience which participated in the Summit was enthused with the sacred spirit to keep the mission on.

'RETURN OF HINDUS TO KASHMIR'

RESOLUTION

"Terrorism in Kashmir is a Muslim religious crusade aimed at the secession of the state from India. Its ideological bases are:

- 1) Kashmir has a population in which the Muslims are in a majority and therefore, it should become a part of Pakistan;
- 2) All people, who vouch for equality, justice and religious tolerance be eliminated;
- 3) The cultural tradition of Kashmir conflicts with the freedom of the Muslims and therefore its five thousand year old history should be demolished and replaced by Islamic fundamentalism.

The Hindus in Kashmir faced the first onslaught of Muslim fundamentalism in Kashmir. It was not out of mere threat perceptions that the Hindu community of Kashmir was forced to evacuate their homes. The exodus of Hindus had two major aspects:-

- 1) Genocide of the Hindus in Kashmir;
- 2) Ethnic cleansing of the Hindus according to a well laid-out scheme. The whole strategy of eliminating the Hindus from Kashmir underlined the negative character of Muslim communalism.

The campaign of disinformation, which was used to provide cover to the negative character of Muslim communalism in Kashmir during the last four decades and conceal the

real objectives of militant violence, is now being used to create another situation of crises for the Hindus in exile. An impression is sought to be created that the transfer of power from the Governor to the National Conference, representing the Muslims of Kashmir, had cleared the way for the return of the Hindus to Kashmir. The truth is that the Indian Government still believes that the Muslimisation of the State by the successive National Conference and National Conference-Congress Governments was complementary to Indian secularism and a bargain can be struck with the Muslims, at the cost of the Hindus. Consequently, preparations are afoot to push the Hindu refugees back into the theatre of war in Kashmir in order to provide the Muslim crusade a new garb of secularism and legitimise any unholy compromise that the Government of India reaches with the fundamentalist and secessionist forces to buy peace from them. The transfer of power to the National Conference, presumed to have initiated the process in the State, is irrelevant to the war of attrition going on in the State. It is also irrelevant to the return of the Hindus to Kashmir in the circumstances of increasing violence and strife and insecurity. The conditions of civil war which involved genocide of the Hindus and their forced exodus have not ended and are still prevailing in Kashmir. Evidently, the Hindus will not return to their homes, so long as the situation of civil war, armed strife and as turmoil which involved genocide and forced exodus, is not terminated. The Hindus of Kashmir, will not give an opportunity to the terrorist flanks to repeat the holocaust of 1990.

REITERATION OF HOMELAND DEMAND

- 1) The Kashmiri Hindus have become the first victims of terrorism as a result of which they had to flee the place of their abode. The Hindus in Kashmir have, right from the dawn of freedom, faced and fought communalism and fundamentalism. They are a part of the Vedic heartland of India and have lived in Kashmir from time immemorial. In fact, they are the original inhabitants of the Valley of Kashmir, now reduced to an ethnic minority, with a history of more than five thousand years dating back beyond the "Neelmat Era" almost contemporary to the Vedic civilization of India. The Hindu religious precepts have borne the message of universal peace, brotherhood

and co-existence of all creeds and faiths. The Hindus of Kashmir are the progenitors of "Shakti" and Shaivite Monism and Hinyan and Servastvadin Buddhism which spread to Central Asia, Tibet and Western China. They propounded the great Shaivite doctrine of Trika and the theory of recognition. Kalhana, Jonaraja, Praj Bhat, Shuka and Shrivara, the great masters of history, compiled the historical chronicle of Rajatarangini. The Hindu kingdom of Kashmir reached its zenith with the ascendance of the Karkotas when Kashmir commanded respect and tribute from its neighbouring kingdoms till the fall of Utpalas. The ascendancy of the Muslim Sultans in the thirteenth century witnessed fierce religious persecution and attempts at conversion of Kashmiri Pandits who resisted it with will, and determination, preferring death to surrender.

- 2) The Kashmiri Pandits have played a major role in the liberation struggle against the British and their colonial imperatives in the State. Secularization of the various communal movements, which rocked the State in the aftermath of the growth of Muslim separatism in India, was achieved mainly due to the efforts of Kashmiri Pandits. They authored and sponsored the famous Declaration of National Demand in 1938. The political movement for National self-government received its ideological contents from the Kashmiri Pandits who gave the first call for self-government.
- 3) Since the independence of India and accession of Kashmir to the Indian Union, the Kashmiri Hindus have continued to fight the religious precedence as well as the separatism which accompanied the rise of Muslim communalism. They were reduced to a plight of slavery, misery and servitude but they did not react against Muslim communalism as a communal minority. In spite of the forces arraigned against them viz Muslim fundamentalists, the Muslimised State apparatus and the secessionist groups, the Hindus suffered

at the stake to save the secular and democratic image of Kashmir and India. While resisting the orchestrated moves fostered by the Muslim communalists inside the State and their mentors in Pakistan to Islamise the State and snatch it from the Union of India, the Hindus became the victims of communal hatred and faced hostility, ridicule and privation. The Indian leaders, on the other hand, served their petty personal interests and party objectives, leaving the field open for the fundamentalists to carry out their nefarious designs. The Kashmiri Hindu was the main obstacle in the attainment of the goal of fundamentalists and was branded as the agent of the Government of India. Even a leader of the stature of Sheikh Mohammad Abdullah charged the Pandits with acting as the fifth column of India. They, thus became the victims of a dangerous irony; where on the one hand they were persecuted because of their adherence to the values of secularism and democracy enshrined in the Indian Constitution and on the other hand they were jettisoned by the rulers of India.

- 4) The Hindus of Kashmir, because of their minority and almost negligible representation in the State Legislature and bureaucracy, became helpless onlookers to the manouvring, manipulation and distortion of the established democratic, constitutional and legal institutions of the State giving rise to Muslim majoritarianism. Under this system the Kashmiri Hindu faced deliberate, steady and relentless squeeze of his constitutional, political and legal rights and was forced into a slow exodus. In the process nearly three lakh Hindus had already left the Valley during the last four decades.
- 5) The Kashmir history is replete with the contribution of Kashmiri Hindus to the Nation's march in general and that of Kashmir in particular. Kashmiri Hindus have served as a beacon light to the entire national polity and are the real founders of secularism and democracy in Kashmir. In the modernization

of the State of Jammu and Kashmir, the Hindus have contributed much more than their share and have imparted to the Kashmiri society its scientific, progressive and humane outlook. Through their history, more specifically in the modern times, they have tried their utmost to live at peace with their Muslim compatriots. The secular façade, which Kashmir has worn all through the last fifty years, has been provided mainly by Kashmiri Hindus. They have not reacted to the Muslim communalism, instead they have faced the rigors of Muslim dominance with the fervent hope that the thrust on universal education and scientific progress in the State would pave way for the flow of democratic thought, recognition of the human rights, the genuine urges and aspirations of Kashmiri Hindu minorities, religious tolerance, equality and justice.

6) This hope is now shattered. Neither the 'Muslim brethren' in Kashmir nor the Indian Government, which swears by secularism, came to the rescue of Kashmiri Hindus at the time when they were being butchered and hounded out of their homes and hearths, nor at this moment when they have been uprooted and thrown into wilderness to face a life and death struggle for survival. All the constitutional guarantees for the protection of their limb, life, property, their status and dignity have been trampled with impunity. The Hindus of Kashmir, wherever they are, therefore, unequivocally declare that:-

i) with their deep and firm commitment to social unity, religious co-existence, democracy and secularism, they will not accept a society which is communalized, obscurantist, intolerant and medieval. They will not submit to any authority in the State which does not recognize their right to life, equality, faith and protection against discrimination. They will not be a party to the present struggle

launched against secular and democratic India.

- ii) with their history of having lived and died for freedom and their open espousal of the cause of tolerance, peace, amity and brotherhood between various ethnic, social and religious group, they cannot accept the pre-eminence and predominance of any single religious community at their cost.
 - iii) having been the original inhabitants of Kashmir from ancient times and being the inheritors of a glorious tradition of more than a five thousand years, Kashmiri Pandits have as much a right to live in Kashmir as any other religious group. Preservation of this community in its natural and historical habitat is a political necessity.
 - iv) Because of their equal right to the land of their birth they stake their claim to be an equal party to any future deliberations in the process of normalization and ultimate solution of the Kashmir problem.
- 7) The homeland resolution must be put in its proper perspective. In India, all the states are governed by the Indian Constitution which enshrines (a) protection against discrimination on the basis of religion (b) right to equality and (c) secular society. Jammu and Kashmir is the only State in India, which is not governed by this Constitution of India. It is not a part of this secular political organization of India. First, it is governed by:
- i) Article 370, which restricts the rights of equality and protection against discrimination on the basis of religion and therefore, ensures

the precedence of the Muslim Majority in the Government and the society of the State, relegating the Hindus to a state of slavery;

ii) Secondly, it is governed by Muslims as an Islamic State in which the minorities, the Hindus particularly, are treated as second-rate citizens.

iii) It is governed by an unwritten instruction that the Hindus and the other minorities must be excluded from all political, economic and social processes to force them to leave the State.

8) The Home-land Resolution demands that the territory, east and north of river Jhelum, in Kashmir, shall not be governed by Article 370 and therefore, is not subject to Muslimisation. The Homeland resolution seeks to liberate the territory of Kashmir situated in East and North of Jhelum, from the operation of Article 370, integrate it fully with the rest of the country, reorganize it into a Centrally administered Union Territory, which is governed by the Indian Constitution without any limitation of Article 370. The demand for the Centrally administered Union Territory is aimed at satisfying the aspirations of the Hindus, in a Muslim State, which does not accept secularism as its basis and where the Hindus and other minorities are subjected to religious persecution, economic exploitation and political oppression.

9) The Kashmiri Pandit Global Summit reiterates its commitment to Resolution number-2 of Margdarshan-1991. Accordingly this Summit, therefore, demands:-

- i) The establishment of a homeland for Kashmiri Hindus in the Kashmir valley, comprising the regions of the Valley to the east and north of the river Jhelum (Vitasta);
- ii) That the Constitution of India be made applicable in letter and spirit in this homeland in order to ensure the right to life, liberty, freedom of expression, faith, equality and rule of law.
- iii) That the homeland be placed under Central administration with a Union Territory status so that it evolves its own economic and political infrastructure;
- iv) That all the seven lakh Kashmiri Hindus, who include those who were driven out of Kashmir in the past and yearn to return to their homeland and those who were forced to leave on account of the terrorist violence in Kashmir, be settled in the homeland on equitable basis with dignity and honour”.

In the end, the Summit was concluded with a vote of thanks presented by Shri B.L.Koul, Chairman, Advisory Board, Panun Kashmir Movement (PKM).

An exhibition depicting the cultural past of Kashmir, human rights violations in Kashmir and various activities of PKM was organized on the occasion which attracted a large number of people including the delegates, media men, security personnel and others who visited the venue.

The role of media which covered the event successfully was exemplary. We are thankful to the media, Deptt. of Police and the intellectuals of Jammu who extended their help

all along. We are also thankful to all those persons and institutions that were instrumental in making the Summit a grand event despite odds.

Our special thanks are due to AIKS, KS-Delhi, AIKPC and all other K.P.Sabhas all over the country and abroad for their valuable guidance and assistance before, during and after the Summit. We also expect generous help from those who could not participate in the Summit due to one or the other reason. They too have a role in the ongoing struggle for implemententing the essence of the historical Kashmiri Pandit Global Summit which proved in its true sense the reincarnation of 'Margdarshan- 1991'.

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COMMITTEE TO BUILD RESPONSE ON AUTONOMY – CBRA
(Constituted By Kashmiri Pandit Global Summit – 19th & 20th Jan' 1997)
232-C, Ram Vihar, Old Janipura, Jammu . Pin : 180007

No. 1997/2

Date : 25/02/1997

Dr. Karan Singh,
Chairman,
J&K State Autonomy Committee,
201, J&K Guest House,
Chanakyapuri,
New Delhi-110021.

Dear Shri(Dr.) Karan Singh Ji,

Kindly find enclosed a memorandum for the consideration of J&K State Autonomy Committee, on behalf of the Committee to Build Response on Autonomy (CBRA) constituted by the Kashmiri Pandit Global Summit held recently on 19th- 20th of January, 1997 at Jammu. In this connection, we also invite your kind attention to the letter dated 31.1.1997 addressed to Shri Ashwani Kumar Chrungoo from Shri. H.L.Kapoor, Secretary to Chairman, J&K Autonomy Committee.

We also reserve our right to put our point of view personally before the Committee headed by your goodself in due course of time. Please acknowledge the receipt of the dispatch.

Thanks and Regards,

Sincerely yours

BANSILAL KOUL
Chairman

MEMORANDUM

1. A considerable measure of distortion of facts and history has become a part of perspectives of the special constitutional position, erroneously called "autonomy" that the Jammu and Kashmir has secured in the constitutional organization of India. The events in Jammu and Kashmir, which followed the partition of India in 1947, leading to the accession of the State to India, have always pervaded the otherwise more important aspects of the political development in the State, the democratization of its Government, the evolution of representative institutions, and acceptance of political responsibility as the basis of State power. Most of these major issues, along with the crucial problems of evolving balances between the exercise of the political authority and the rights and freedom of the individual, were relegated to the background in view of the dispute with Pakistan, the occupation of almost half the territory of the State by that country and United Nation's intervention invoked by the Government of India. Perhaps, the decision to appoint the present Committee to examine the various aspects of the special constitutional position of the State is a historic decision because it provides an institutional basis for an objective analysis and evaluation of the constitutional position of the State, the nature and extent of the autonomy it envisages, the sets of federal relationship between the State Government and the Union Government, which have grown over the period after the Constitution of India came into force in 1950, and also the imperatives of authority that the special constitutional position of the State and the constitution of Jammu and Kashmir embody. In the history of every nation a time comes, sooner or later, when it has to face the truth. For the people of Jammu and Kashmir that moment has arrived now.

2. During the last two decades, a campaign of disinformation has been in process about the accession of the State to India, mainly to link the separatist and secessionist movement in the State with its special constitutional position. Pakistan's claim to the Muslim majority State of Jammu and Kashmir State, on the basis of the acceptance of partition of India, has led to the growth of a misconceived notion that visualizes all Muslim majorities as separate national

identities. The recognition of the sub national identity of Jammu and Kashmir underlines the acceptance of continuity of the partition of India.

However, the entire India of the Princely States, which spread over one-third of the territories of India and constituted one-fourth of its population, was never brought within the ambit of the partition. The partition of India was strictly restricted to the British Indian provinces which, the British claimed, belonged to them and they insisted that it was subject to their dispensation. The British repeatedly and emphatically told the Indian National Congress, the Muslim League and the All India States People's Conference, which spearheaded the liberation movement in the States, that the States did not belong to them and therefore were not subject to their dispensation. They maintained that the States belonged to the Princes and the powers the British exercised by virtue of the Paramountcy over the States, would revert to their rulers and their future disposition would be the concern and the task of the Princes to accomplish. The British approach was in consonance with the position the Muslim League adopted in regard to the States. Jinnah and the other leaders of the Muslim League had greater stakes in the States ruled by the Muslim Princes than they had in the Muslim majority State of Jammu and Kashmir. They sought to keep the option open for the Muslim rulers to join Pakistan. They did not close the option for the rulers of Jammu and Kashmir either, and offered to support Maharaja Hari Singh in case he decided to assume independence.

The Indian National Congress accepted the lapse of The Paramountcy and the reversion of its powers to the rulers of the States. The States People's Conference also accepted the lapse of Paramountcy and it may be submitted here that the National Conference was an affiliate organization of the States People's Conference.

The transfer of powers in India in 1947 involved the division of the British Indian Provinces into two dominions, India and Pakistan, and the liberation of the Indian States from the British Paramountcy. The two processes were distinctly separate and underlined a political change which led to different consequences. The provinces were reorganized into two independent dominions; the States were released from the obligations of the Paramountcy and

the rulers of the States were empowered to adhere to either of the two dominions, irrespective of the communal division the Indian partition underlined. The State Departments of India and Pakistan, headed by Sardar Vallab Bhai Patel and Sardar Abdur Rab Nishtar respectively, opened negotiations with the Princes, for separate political settlements with them. Neither Patel, nor Nishtar demanded, at any time, the adherence of any State to either of the dominions as the basis of partition of the British India.

Sardar Abdur Rab Nishtar offered whole-hearted support to the independence of the States, including the State of Jammu and Kashmir and strongly opposed any political arrangements which were sought to be reached with the Princes on the basis of the division.

The conspiracy proved to be deeper and though the British government refused to accord the status of British dominions to the Princely States, it left the door open for separate negotiations with their rulers. Mountbatten informed the Princes that he would forward to the British Government any requests from anyone of them to establish direct relations with Great Britain.

3. The accession of the Jammu and Kashmir State to India was not contingent upon any considerations, which arose out of the facts of the Muslim majority character of its population. The accession of Jammu and Kashmir was not accomplished because of and by its Muslim majority population in contravention of the partition process. The British refused to recognize the Muslim majority provinces as Muslim identities. They recognised only the Muslim majority regions of the British provinces as Muslim identities. They did not recognise any State as a Muslim identity on the basis of its Muslim majority population. They did not recognize any State as a Hindu identity on the basis of its Hindu majority. Neither Junagarh, nor Hyderabad was recognized as a Hindu identity for the purpose of its accession. Jammu and Kashmir too was not recognized as a Muslim identity for the purpose of its accession. Geographical contiguity was more factoral in determining the accession of the States. The state of Kalat, located inside Pakistan, was forced to accede to Pakistan, in spite of its

opposition to the accession of the State to Pakistan. The Jammu and Kashmir State was geographically contiguous to India and formed the most vital part of its northern frontier.

Article 370

4. Maharaja Hari Singh, the ruler of Jammu and Kashmir State, signed the same standard form of the Instrument of Accession in October 1947, which the other Indian rulers signed to accede to the then Indian dominion. The Instrument of Accession was evolved by the States Department headed by Vallabh Bhai Patel, and was based upon the principles the Cabinet Mission had stipulated for the accession of the Indian States to the All India Federation. All the rulers of the acceding States retained all the residuary powers of government and the Instrument of Accession they signed underlined the delegation of powers to the Dominion Government in respect of foreign affairs, defence and communications. The Instrument of Accession he signed envisaged the delegation of powers to the Dominion Government of Accession of India in respect of foreign affairs, defence and communications. The Instrument of Accession did not bind any acceding State, including Jammu and Kashmir, to accept the future Constitution of India.

No separate or special provisions were incorporated in the Instrument of Accession signed by Hari Singh and there was no precondition or agreement, specially accepted by the Government of India to any separate and special constitutional arrangement, to the exclusion of the other acceding States.

That the State Department of the dominion Government, or the Ruler of the State or the Congress leadership accepted any condition that Jammu and Kashmir would be provided a special constitutional position or any particular brand of autonomy or would be recognized as a separate Muslim identity, is a travesty of history. Neither Nehru, nor Patel gave any assurance to the Conference leaders that the Jammu and Kashmir State would be recognized as a separate constitutional entity because of the Muslim majority in its population.

When the invading armies of Pakistan were fast approaching Srinagar, the Prime Minister of Jammu and Kashmir, Mehar Chand Mahajan arrived in Delhi, with a request from Hari Singh for help against the invaders. Mahajan was instructed to inform the Government of India that the Maharaja had decided to accede to the Indian Dominion and accepted to transfer whatever authority he would be required to make in favour of the National Conference. Sheikh Mohammad Abdullah was in Delhi and neither he nor Nehru laid any condition to Mahajan in respect of the future constitution of the State. Mahajan too did not make any commitment on the separate Muslim identity of Jammu and Kashmir or its autonomy. Nehru sought a substantial transfer of authority to the National Conference which was in consonance with the pledges that the Congress had given to the people of all princely States. The Congress was committed to replace personal rule, which characterised the political organization of the States, by representative institutions of the governments in the Indian Provinces. Jammu and Kashmir was not recognized as an exception.

The Instrument of Accession, which the rulers of the princely States executed to join the Indian Dominion, reserved them the right to convene Constituent Assemblies to frame constitutions for their respective Governments. The ruler of Jammu and Kashmir also reserved the right to convene a Constituent Assembly to frame a constitution for the Government. The Constituent Assembly of India was, by mutual consensus of the Premiers of the States and the representatives of the Constituent Assembly, entrusted with the task of evolving a model constitution, which the Constituent Assemblies of the States would follow in order to avoid any conflict between the Constitution of India and the constitutions of the States. Constituent Assemblies were convened in the Mysore State, the States union of Saurashtra and the States union of Travancore-Cochin.

In 1949, an extra-ordinary decision was taken by the Premiers of the States in a conference held in Delhi. They decided to entrust to the Constituent Assembly of India the task of framing a uniform set of constitutional provisions for all the States. The constitutional

provisions for the States, the conference decided, would be incorporated in the Constitution of India.

5. The National Conference (hereafter called Conference) leaders did not accept the decision of the Premiers Conference and insisted upon the convocation of a separate Constituent Assembly for Jammu and Kashmir. Consequently, a conference of the Conference leaders and representatives of the Dominion Government, in which Nehru and Sheikh Mohammad Abdullah participated, was convened in Delhi, shortly after the Premiers Conference. A number of issues, pertaining to the fundamental rights and related safeguards, freedom of faith, emergencies arising out of war, rebellion and constitutional breakdown in the States, jurisdiction of the Courts division of powers between the Union and the federating States, and the convocation of the Constituent Assembly in the State, came up for deliberation in the conference. The Constituent Assembly of India had evolved provisions in respect of the territories of the Union, citizenship, fundamental rights, Principles of State Policy, jurisdiction of the courts and emergencies. The Constituent Assembly of India had also evolved a scheme of the division of powers between the Union and the States, which it proposed would replace the delegation of powers stipulated by the instrument of Accession the acceding States had signed.

The Conference leaders stunned Nehru and the other Congress leaders when they refused to accept the application of any provision of the Constitution of India to the State and insisted upon the continuation of federal relations between the proposed Union of India and Jammu & Kashmir on the basis of the Instrument of Accession. In other words, they demanded the exclusion of the State from the constitutional organization of India and its reorganization into a separate political entity which would be aligned with in respect of external relations, defense and communications. In fact, the National Conference demanded the restoration of control over the state army to the Interim Government of the State, after the Indian army was withdrawn. The Conference leaders demanded that:-

- i) the rule of the Dogra dynasty be abolished;
- ii) the State be excluded from the constitutional organization of India;
- iii) the relations between the Union and the State be governed by the stipulations of the Instrument of Accession;
- iv) the control over the State army be transferred to the Interim Government of the State;
- v) the Interim Government be empowered to institute a separate Constituent Assembly to draw up a Constitution for the State.

The Indian leaders agreed to leave a wider orbit of authority to the State Government and accepted to vest the residuary powers with it. They agreed to the demand for the abolition of the Dogra rule, and the institution of a separate Constituent Assembly for the State. However they refused to countenance the exclusion of the State from the Indian Union and its constitutional organization. Nehru, evidently disconcerted with the proposals the Conference leaders made, told them that he could not accept to deprive the people of the State of the Indian citizenship, fundamental rights and the Directive Principles of the State Policy which reflected the pride of the Indian people in the ideological commitments of their liberation struggle.

The National Conference harboured completely different views about the constitutional relations between the State and India. It visualised the State as a separate political entity with its own constitutional organization, independent of the political organization of India in respect of which the Union of India assumed the responsibility of defense, communications and external relations within the stipulations of the Instrument of Accession.

The atmosphere in which Delhi Conference was convened was pervaded by a deep feeling of uncertainty. A month before the Delhi Conference was held, Sheikh Mohammad Abdullah had thrown a bombshell in the Indian camp when he told the correspondent of

'Scotsman' that the independence of Jammu & Kashmir would be the most suitable course to end the dispute over Kashmir. In case, Sheikh Mohammad Abdullah maintained, Kashmir was able to establish good neighbourly relations with India and Pakistan, the two countries would settle down to peace and live as good neighbours.

The National Conference leaders made a tactical retreat mainly to bide time and an agreement was finally reached between them and the Congress leaders. The agreement stipulated:

- i) that Jammu & Kashmir would be included in the territories of Indian Union.
- ii) provision of the Constitution of India in respect of citizenship, fundamental rights and related legal guarantees, Directive Principles of State Policy and the federal judiciary would be extended to the State.
- iii) the division of powers between the State and the Union of India would be governed by the stipulation of the Instrument of Accession and not the Seventh Schedule of the Indian Constitution.
- iv) the administrative and the operational control of the State army would remain with the Government of India.
- v) a separate Constituent Assembly of the State would be convened to draw up the constitution for the State.
- vi) the Constituent Assembly, after it was convened, would determine the future of the Dogra rule.

The agreement was short-lived. Not long after the Conference leaders returned to Srinagar, they made public pronouncements that the Constituent Assembly of the State would evolve a set of the separate Principles of State Policy, a Bill of Rights and mechanism for election to the constitution-making body. The Conference leaders gave ample expression to

their reluctance to accept the inclusion of the State in the Indian Union and the application of any provisions of the Constitution of India to the State.

6. The issues came to a head when Gopalaswamy Ayyangar sent the draft constitutional provisions he had drawn up for the State, to the Conference leaders for their approval. The draft provisions were based upon the agreement reached in Delhi in May 1949, between the representatives of the Government of India and the Conference leaders. After closed door deliberations, the Conference leaders placed the draft proposals before the Working Committee of the Conference. The Working Committee turned down the proposal promptly.

Sheikh Mohammad Abdullah sent an alternate draft to Ayyangar which envisaged exclusion of the State from the Indian Union and its constitutional organization. The draft stipulated the abolition of the Dogra rule and the reorganization of the State into an independent political entity, which would be federated with the Indian Union on the basis of the Instrument of Accession. The draft proposed that the separate political identity of the State would be based upon the Muslim majority character of its population, its separate culture and history and the aspirations of its people for economic equality and political freedom, which the Constitution of India did not enshrine.

Ayyangar received a jolt when the communication of the Conference leaders, along with the draft proposals drawn up by Sheikh Mohammad Abdullah, was delivered to him. On 14th October 1949 he had a long meeting with Sheikh Mohammad Abdullah and Mirza Afzal Beg in Delhi and tried to persuade them to adhere to the agreement they had accepted in the Conference at Delhi, held earlier in May. The Conference leaders did not relent and told Ayyangar bluntly that they would not accept the application of the Constitution of India to the State.

Ayyangar failed to face the Conference leaders with firmness. He made a vain bid to placate the Conference leaders by offering to exclude fundamental rights and related legal

safeguards from the provisions of the Constitutions of India, which were proposed to be extended to the State in his draft. To his consternation, the Conference leaders rejected the modified draft as well. They informed Ayangar that the National Conference would not accept the application of any provision of the Constitution of India, including the provisions with regard to the territories to the Union and citizenship and that it accepted only the Instrument of Accession as the basis of any relationship between the State and the future Union of India. When Nehru and other Indian leaders insisted upon the inclusion of the State, at least in the basic structure of the Constitution, the Conference leaders broke off the negotiations and threatened to withdraw from the Constituent Assembly.

Fearful of a crisis, the resignation of Conference leaders from the Constituent Assembly of India would create in Jammu & Kashmir and its repercussions outside India, Ayangar beseeched them not to take any precipitate action which would have an adverse effect on the Indian interests in the Security Council. A breach with the Conference leaders, he believed, would undercut the support India had among the Kashmiri speaking Muslims who, Nehru still believed, would win the plebiscite for India. The Conference leaders, foxy and sly, used the United Nations intervention, ironically enough invoked by India to secure the withdrawal of the armies of Pakistan from the occupied territories, to foist on the Indian leaders a settlement which placed the State in a position outside the political organization of India.

Nehru was abroad in the United States of America. Ayangar met the Conference leaders and assured them that the Government of India would accept the constitutional position for Jammu & Kashmir outside the Indian constitutional organization. He further assured them that the Government of India respected the aspirations of the Muslims of the State, and therefore, would accept the institution of a separate Constituent Assembly of the State which would frame the constitution of the State and also determine the future of the Dogra dynasty. The provisions of the Instrument of Accession, Ayangar assured them further, would determine the constitutional relationship between the State and the Union of India.

Ayengar drew up a fresh draft in consultation with Mirza Afzal Beg. Sheikh Mohammad Abdullah pulled the strings from behind the scene. The revised draft, prepared by Ayengar and moved in the Constituent Assembly of India, envisaged:

- i) no provisions of the Constitution of India except Article(1), would be extended to the State;
- ii) the division of powers between the Union and the Jammu and Kashmir State would be limited to the stipulations of the Instrument of Accession;
- iii) a separate Constituent Assembly would be convened in Jammu & Kashmir to frame its Constitution;
- iv) the President of India would be empowered to vest more powers in the Union Government in respect of Jammu & Kashmir in concurrence with the State Government;
- v) the President of India would be empowered to modify the operation of special constitutional provisions for the State on the recommendations of the Constituent Assembly of the State;
- vi) the State Government would be construed to mean the Maharaja acting on the advice of the Council of Ministers appointed under his proclamation dated 5 March 1948.

The draft provisions were incorporated in Article 306-A of the draft constitution of India. The draft Article 306-A was renumbered Article 370 at the revision stage.

7. Article 306-A was circulated in the Constituent Assembly on 16 October, 1949. It came up for the consideration of the Assembly the next day. Several members of the Constituent Assembly detected an error in the draft provisions which Ayangar had overlooked. The draft Article defined the State Government as the "Council of Ministers appointed under the Maharaja's Proclamation dated 5 March 1948". The members of the Constituent Assembly pointed out to Ayangar that the definition of the State Government envisaged a perpetual interim Government which would lead to the creation of an anomalous situation of excluding all successor governments from the provisions of the Constitution of India. Ayangar modified the draft to remove the anomaly and redefined the State Government as the "person for the time being recognized by the President as the Maharaja of Jammu & Kashmir, acting on the advice of the Council of Ministers for the time being in office under the Maharaja's Proclamation dated the Fifth day of March 1948."

The Conference leaders took strong exception to the change in the definition of the State government. Mirza Afzal Beg threatened to move an amendment to the draft provisions of Article 306-A seeking to alter the definition of the State Government.

Beig had actually sought to include provisions in the draft Article 306-A which envisaged a perpetual Interim Government in the State and which could be used as a lever against India in future. He and the other Conference leaders were disconcerted with the inclusion of the State in the First Schedule of the Constitution of India and wanted some pretext to block the passage of the special provisions in the Constituent Assembly.

Ayangar could not remodify the definition of the State Government in view of a strong reaction against it in the Constituent Assembly. He failed to persuade the Conference leaders to condescend to the modifications he had brought about in the draft. When Article 306-A came up for the consideration of the Constituent Assembly, the Conference leaders sulked away and did not join the deliberations on the draft provisions till Ayangar completed

his speech. They sat glum when the draft provisions were put to vote and passed unanimously.

Immediately after the draft provisions were adopted by the Constituent Assembly, they sent a sharp rejoinder to Ayangar demanding the rescindment of Article 306-A as adopted by the Constituent Assembly, failing which they threatened to resign from the Constituent Assembly. Ayangar was stunned; he sent a plaintive note to the Conference leaders entreating them not to take any action which would prejudice the Indian interests, and wait for Nehru's return. The Conference leaders did not resign from the Constituent Assembly.

8. Article 370 in its original form envisaged exclusion of Jammu & Kashmir State from the secular constitutional organization of India, and reorganization into a separate political identity based upon the Muslim majority character of its population. It imposed a limitation on the application of the provisions of Constitution of India to the State. The division of powers between the State and the Union was also limited to the stipulations of the Instrument of Accession. Article 370 was therefore, not an enabling act. It was, in fact, an Act of limitation on the application of the Constitution of India to the State.

POLITICAL FALL OUT

9. Many motives prompted the National Conference to exclude the State from the constitutional organisation of India:

- i) Since the execution of the Instrument of Accession by Maharaja Hari Singh, which the Conference leaders called "Paper Accession", was subjected to a plebiscite, the Muslims in Jammu & Kashmir believed that they had assumed a veto over the accession of the State to India. To retain for the Muslims the right to veto on the accession of the State, the Conference leaders opposed any constitutional postulates and agreements with India, which were

tantamount to the substitution of the Instrument of Accession, or which altered its consequences.

- ii) Later events proved that the Conference leaders were inclined to ensure a placement of equidistance for Jammu & Kashmir from India and Pakistan. The Conference leaders planned to consolidate the State into a separate political organization, which could, at an appropriate time, be projected as an alternative to the accession of the State to either of the two States, India and Pakistan.
- iii) Another consideration the Conference leaders had, to oppose the inclusion of the State into the constitutional organization of India, was to evade the secular integration of the people of the State into the Union of India, on the basis of the right to equality, right to protection against discrimination on the basis of religion and right to freedom of faith, propagation of faith and right to safeguard the community as a religious minority. The Conference leaders disapproved of all forms of safeguards which the provisions of the Constitution of India envisaged in respect of fundamental rights, on the ostensible pretext that such safeguards would frustrate the resolve of the Interim Government to undertake economic, political and social reforms in the State. The real motivation, however, was that the right to equality, right to protection against discrimination on the basis of religion, right of freedom of faith, right to property and other constitutional safeguards enshrined in the Constitution of India conflicted with the Muslimisation of the State. In fact, the Interim Government vigorously enforced the communal precedence of the Muslim majority in the Government and administration of the State, its economic organization and its society.

The exclusion of the State from the constitutional organization of India had disastrous consequences:

- i) The National Conference's endeavour to retain for the Muslims a veto on the accession of the State, by limiting the constitutional relations between the State and India to the Instrument of Accession virtually repudiated the act of accession Hari Singh had accomplished.
- ii) The exclusion of the State from the Indian constitutional organization, on the basis of the Muslim majority character of its population, coincided with the ideological propositions which formed the basis of the League's claim to Pakistan.
- iii) The Hindus, among them particularly the Hindus in Kashmir, the Budhists and the Sikhs were exposed to political oppression, economic deprivation and social segregation, in the absence of legal safeguards, which followed from the enforcement of the Muslim precedence in the Government, economic organization and the society of the State. They were reduced to a state of servitude in a Muslim State.
- iv) Arbitrary exercise of State power, in the name of Islamisation, undermined the political responsibility, representative institutions and liberalization of society in the State to the detriment and disadvantage of all people.

10. The cumulative effect of the insulation of the State began to be felt sooner than expected. Article 370 led to the creation of the following consequences:

- i). the secessionist forces, operating in the State from the time of the accession of the State to India and supported by Pakistan, joined the National Conference in their endeavour to retain for the Muslims the veto on the accession of the Jammu and Kashmir, which in due course of time led to the emergence of a new Muslim movement, committed to a plebiscite.
- ii). the Hindu reaction, against the exclusion of the State from the constitutional organization of India, unfolded into an open agitation for the integration of the State with the secular political organization of India.
- iii). the stagnation of the economy of the State led to a serious economic and financial crisis in the State. Indian investment in the State was barred by the Interim Government. Investment from countries outside India was expected to be made available only after the option of self-determination was exercised by the people of the State. The economic organisation of the State, hardly in a position to sustain its people, crumbled rapidly.

11. The decision of the Interim Government of the State to end the Dogra rule and replace the Ruler by the Chief Executive, presumably elected by the Muslim majority of the State, created a sharp reaction both inside and outside the State. The Hindus and the other minorities in the State accused the National Conference of abolishing the office of the Ruler; to install a protégé of the Conference in his place to fortify the separate identity of the State. The Government of India, which had allowed the exclusion of the State as a transitional measure, due to the reluctance of the Conference leaders, who had sought to use the United Nations to their advantage, had by now realised the inherent dangers in the exclusion of the

State from the constitutional organization of India. Infact, the Government of India promptly informed the Conference leaders, that any changes in the existing constitutional organization of the State, mainly the abolition of the dynastic rule of the Dogras, needed to be placed in the context of an overall change in the transitional provisions of Article 370 in order that the changes in the constitutional organization of the state did not conflict with the Constitution of India. Evidently, the Government of India expressed its preference for the inclusion of the State in the broad structure of the State (Union of India) before any changes were envisaged in the constitutional organization of the State.

The Conference leaders, who had now assumed the position that the special constitutional provisions embodied in Article 370, were subject to the final decision of the Constituent Assembly, were surreptitiously preparing to use the Constituent Assembly of the State to freeze the provisions of Article 370 and ensure the exclusion of the State from the constitutional organization of India on, more or less, a permanent basis. Perhaps, the removal of Hari Singh from the office of the Ruler of the State was aimed at getting rid of the last instrument the Government of India would use to arrive at a fresh settlement on the constitutional relations between the State and the Union.

The National Conference leaders had a high power meeting with Nehru and his colleagues, including Ayangar and Azad. Sheikh Mohammad Abdullah, Beg, Shahmiri, the Constitutional advisor to the Constituent Assembly, besides Mir Qasim, constituted the Conference delegation.

The Indian leaders agreed to the changes in the constitutional organization of the State proposed by the National Conference, and accepted to allow the State an exercise of wider residuary powers, but they proposed that the exclusion of the State from the Indian constitutional organization would have to be amended and the State integrated in the Republic of India in respect of territories, citizenship, fundamental rights and related safeguards, jurisdiction of the Supreme Court, emergencies arising out of war and the division of financial

powers. The Conference leaders, though strongly opposed to the extension of any provisions of the Constitution of India to the State, were finally persuaded to accept a partial application of the provisions of the Constitution of India to the State in respect of citizenship, fundamental rights, original jurisdiction of the Supreme Court and the emergencies arising out of war and aggression. An understanding was reached between the two sides that the constitutional reforms in the constitutional organization of the State and the changes in the constitutional relations between the State and the Union, would be undertaken by the Constituent Assembly simultaneously. The agreement later came to be called the Delhi Agreement.

12. After the Conference leaders returned to Srinagar, they resiled from the agreement arrived at, in Delhi. In November 1952, a formal proposal to abolish the Dogra rule was moved in the Constituent Assembly. The office of the Ruler was abolished and replaced by the office of a Head of the State, who was elected by the Constituent Assembly subject to the confirmation of the President of India for a fixed tenure. The Conference leaders elected Yuvraj Karan Singh the Head of the State. Thereafter, the Interim Government initiated no moves to bring about the changes in the constitutional relations between the State and the Union, as agreed upon in Delhi.

The Delhi Conference and the consequent agreement were used as a ruse by the Conference leaders to eliminate Hari Singh. The contention of the Government of India that the provisions envisaged by Article 370 were transitional and temporary and deserved to be modified in view of the necessity to include the State in the Indian constitutional organization, evoked severe opposition from the Interim Government. The events which followed are a part of history. In August 1953, the Interim Government headed by Sheikh Mohammad Abdullah was dismissed and replaced by a second Interim Government, headed by Bakshi Gulam Mohammad.

13. After the change over in the State Government, fresh discussions were held between the representatives of the second Interim Government and the Government of India. It was agreed upon that the provisions of the Constitution of India would apply to the State in respect of the territory of the Indian Union, citizenship, fundamental rights, the original jurisdiction of the Supreme Court, and the emergencies arising out of war and aggression. Consequently, proclamation of the President was issued on 14 May 1954, which extended the application of the provisions of the Constitution of India, with several exceptions and reservations to the State. In the years which followed the application of the provisions of the Constitution of India in respect of elections, audits, financial and administrative relations, emergencies arising out of constitutional breakdown and powers of the Supreme Court, was extended to the State with crippling reservations.

The reservations and exceptions to the application of the provisions of the Constitution of India to the State were so devised as to ensure the Interim Government as well as the successive State Governments the authority:

- i) to perpetuate the separate political identity of the State on the basis of the Muslim-majority character of its population;
- ii) to Muslimise the Government and society of the State;
- iii) to enforce communal precedence of the Muslim majority in the administration of the State, its economic organisation and its social and cultural institutions in order to subordinate the Hindus and the other minorities to the slavery of a Muslim State.

14. During the years that followed, the insulation of the State into a separate Muslim identity, the Muslimisation of its government, economic organization and the enforcement of the communal precedence of the Muslim majority in the society of the State, led to the

consolidation of the secessionist forces. The militarisation of Islamic fundamentalism in the aftermath of Pakistan's intervention in Afghanistan, found its support basis in the Muslimised government, society and economic organization of the State.

15. It is infact the so-called autonomy of the State, which was used as cover to Muslimise its Government and economic organization and fundamentalise its social culture, which formed the foreground of the militant violence which broke out in 1989-90. It is not the erosion of autonomy, which consolidated the separatist, communal, and secessionist forces in the State. All such insinuations are a misreading of history and part of the disinformation campaign to camouflage the real character of Muslim communalism and separatism in the State.

The Committee submits that:

- i) the separate political identity of the State based upon the Muslim majority character of its population contravenes the basic structure of the Constitution of India, which does not accept religious majority as a basis of political organization.
- ii) the Muslimisation of the government and society of Jammu & Kashmir is a negation of Indian secularism;
- iii) the enforcement of Muslim precedence in the administration, economic organization, society and culture of the State, as a part of the process of its autonomy is a violation of the basic fundamental rights the Constitution of India postulates.

16. The autonomy of the State enjoyed so far is an antithesis of Indian unity. It was a mechanism devised by the National Conference leadership in 1949 to secure a veto on the Instrument of Accession, and exclude the State from the territories of India and finally break it off from the Indian State. The claim to the restoration of 1952 position, underlines:

- i) the revocation of the provisions of the Constitution of India extended to the State after 1954 to secure its re-exclusion from the constitutional organization of India;
- ii) use of militant violence, after the State is excluded from the constitutional organization of India to force a settlement on India, in which the Kashmir province, the contiguous Muslim majority regions of the Jammu province and the frontier of Ladakh are delinked from India.

17. The constitutional provisions envisaged by Article 370 are transitory provisions, and Ayangar assured the Constituent Assembly of India that in view of the invasion of the State, occupation of a part of its territories by Pakistan and the United Nations intervention, the State was not excluded from the Indian constitutional organization. He assured the members that the Constitution of India would be made applicable to the State, integrating it into the Indian Republic. The framers of Article 370, did not and could not have visualized a perpetual Constituent Assembly.

The operation of the provisions of the Constitution of India, applicable to the State by the various Presidential orders including the Presidential Order of 1950, can be revoked by a Presidential order under section (d) of Article 370, as the provision of the sub-clause of clause(I) empowers the President to order the application of other provisions of the Constitution of India, which evidently is in consonance with the intentions of the fathers of Indian Constitution to integrate the Jammu & Kashmir State into the Indian Republic at an appropriate time.

Sub-clause(d) of clause(1) of Article 370, it must be noted, empowers the President to widen the application of the Constitution of India to the State to integrate it into the Republic of India. The President can impose restrictions only on such provisions as he extends to the State by an order with the concurrence of the State. He cannot impose any restrictions on the provisions which are already applicable to the State, that is the spirit of clause(d) of Article 370 and no President of India will dare transgress the constitutional limits which his powers are subject to.

In its spirit and substance, clause (2) of Article 370 also reflects the intentions of the founding fathers of the Indian Constitution that the framers of the Indian Constitution vested the President of India with the powers to order the revocation of the operation of Article 370 on the recommendations of the Constituent Assembly of the State, and strengthens the conviction that the founding fathers vested the powers conjointly with the President and the Constituent Assembly of the State to set aside the operation of Article 370 to further integrate the state into the constitutional organization of India. The powers of the President to order that Article 370 shall be operative only with such exceptions and modifications from such date as he may specify, form a part of the substantive content of the whole clause(3). In this regard too, the intentions of the founding fathers of the Indian Constitution, are manifestly evident.

It must also be noted that the founding fathers of the Indian Constitution laid down provisions which were intended to bring to an end the operation of Article 370, or modify its operation, in order to revoke the limitations it imposed on the application of the Constitution of India to the State or modify them to allow a wider flow of the Indian Constitution to the Jammu and Kashmir State. Article 370, it noted, was not intended to insulate the State from the Constitution of India permanently and the provisions of clause(3) were specifically included to widen the applicability of the Constitution of India to the State, not to limit or restrict it. The clause(3) could not have been intended to provide for restricting the operation of the application of the Constitution of India to the State, because, when the Article 370 was

framed, no provision except of Schedule-VII, corresponding to the delegation of powers stipulated by the Instrument of Accession and Schedule-I defining the territories of India were applicable to the State. Clause(3) could not have been intended to vest powers with the President to revoke the operation of Schedule-I and Schedule-VII, to exclude the State from the territories of India and the reversion of the delegation of powers to the Union Government in respect of defence, communication and foreign affairs.

Clause(3) of Article 370, cannot be used against the intended motive of the Constituent Assembly. Gopalaswami Ayangar clarified the intention of the framers of the Constitution of India, behind Clause(3) of Article 370:

“The last clause refers to what may happen later on. We have said article 211-A will not apply to Jammu and Kashmir State. But that cannot be a permanent feature of the Constitution of the State, and hope it will not be. So the provision is made that when the Constituent Assembly has met and taken a decision both on the Constitution for the State and on the range of federal jurisdiction over the State, the President may on the recommendations of the Constituent Assembly issue an order that this Article 306(A) shall either cease to be operative or shall be operative only subject to such exceptions and modifications as may be specified by him. But before he issues any order of that kind, the recommendations of the Constituent Assembly will be a condition precedent. That explains the whole of this Article.

The effect of this Article is that Jammu and Kashmir State, which is now a part of India, will continue to be a part of India, will be a unit of future federal republic of India and the Union legislature will get jurisdiction to enact laws on matters specified either in the Instrument of accession or by later addition with the concurrence of the Government of the State. And steps have to be taken for the purpose of convening a Constituent Assembly in due course, which will go into the matters I have already referred to. When it has come to a decision on different matters it will make a recommendation to the President who will either

abrogate Article 306-A or direct that it shall apply with such modifications and exceptions as the Constituent Assembly may recommend”.

It must be noted that the State legislature, has not succeeded to any of the Constitutive powers the Constituent Assembly exercised in respect of Article 370. It cannot at any time initiate amendment or changes in the applicability of Article 370 or the subsequent Presidential orders, which have been promulgated from 1954 onwards. The Constitution of Jammu and Kashmir embodies the intention of the Constituent Assembly of the State. It imposes an absolute limitation on the powers of the State Legislative Assembly and the Legislative Council to initiate any amendment or change in the applicability of Schedule-I and Schedule VII of the Constitution of India to Jammu and Kashmir State. The matters placed outside the scope of the powers to amend the Constitution, vested with the State legislature, are:

- i) provisions of the Constitution of India applicable to the State;
- ii) provisions of section 3 of the Constitution of Jammu and Kashmir;
- iii) provision of section 5 of the Constitution of Jammu and Kashmir;
- iv) the procedure of amendment of the Constitution of Jammu and Kashmir.

The President of India, in order to bring about any change in the applicability of the provisions of the Constitution of India to the State is, therefore, left with no alternative except to ask his Government to move a Bill in the Parliament of India to amend Article 370. The Parliament of India represents the whole people of India on the basis of secular equality, including the Hindus of Jammu and Kashmir. The representatives of the Indian People will not accept the re-delimitation of Jammu and Kashmir into a separate political identity on the basis of the Muslim majority character of its population, mainly because:

- i) the segregation of Jammu and Kashmir into a Muslim State, outside the secular constitutional organisation of India will conflict with the secular basis of the Indian Constitution.
- ii) the Hindus and other minorities in Jammu and Kashmir can not be deprived of the fundamental rights which, though partially, they enjoy by virtue of the application of the Constitution of India to the State, are subjected to the slavery of a Muslim State.

18. In Jammu and Kashmir State, a long and pernicious movement for the secession of the State from India is on, on the basic assumptions:

- i) that the Muslim majority in Jammu and Kashmir formed a part of the Muslim India, which was separated by virtue of the partition of India to form the State of Pakistan and
- ii) that it had the option to decide the final disposition of the State in respect of its accession. The secessionist movement followed an identical ideological commitment to a separate Muslim political organisation which was governed by Islam and which was advocated by the Muslim league in support of the division of India. The secessionist movement, therefore, was fundamentally communal, separatist and theocratic in character. The militarisation of the secessionist movement in 1989 followed the same basic commitments to communalization and secession of the State from India and its Muslimisation, within or outside Pakistan. The White Paper issued by the Joint Human Rights Committee states quite aptly:

“A more militant outlook inside as well as outside the various secessionist organisations including the Plebiscite Front, developed after the 1965 Indo-Pakistan war. A new generation of Muslim youth had grown under the shadow of the movement for

plebiscite, which was imbibed by the ideological commitment to the Muslim nation of Pakistan. The movement for plebiscite, whatever may now be said to whitewash its significance, upheld the quest for a separate and independent state for the Muslims, aligned with the Muslim nation of Pakistan completely bred upon the spoils of the Muslim majoritarianism and Muslim precedence, and oriented to the Muslimised political culture of the State, totally fundamentalist in content, and the new generation slowly assumed the leadership of the secessionist movements in the State. The new leadership as it emerged stressed that:

- i) The Muslim leadership of the National Conference had supported the accession of the State to India in 1947, against the will of the Muslims.
- ii) The Secessionist movement led by the Plebiscite Front would not be able to liberate the Muslims from the Indian yoke because the form of protest against India, it had followed, was not adequate to force India to leave Kashmir.
- iii) The use of armed force alone could compel India to accept the right of the Muslims in the State to self-determination.
- iv) The Muslim state of Jammu and Kashmir was a natural part of the Muslim nation of Pakistan.

19. For the last six years, an unabated war of attrition against India had been going on inside the State, which is aimed at:

- i) delinking the State from India and securing its integration into the Muslim homeland of Pakistan.
- ii) demolishing the secular, social and political organization of the State and converting it into a Muslim theocracy.

Politically, therefore, any linkage between the restoration of 1953 status and militarisation of secessionism implies that:

- i. the militant secessionist forces now operating in the State do not accept the exclusion of the Jammu and Kashmir from the constitutional organization of India as a basis of a settlement on Kashmir.
- ii. the militant forces do not accept restoration of the 1953 status as a basis of a settlement of Kashmir and their military operations will continue, in spite of the exclusion of the State from the Indian constitutional organization. In either option cited above, the fundamental question which the proponents of the 'greater autonomy' must answer are:

- a) what would be the guarantee that after the State is excluded from the Indian political organization, the secessionist forces will not take advantage of the dissolution of all the federal instrumentalities in the State and deliver another military offensive against Kashmir?
- b) in case the militant violence continues even after the State is excluded from the Indian Union, who would guarantee that the exclusion of the State from the Indian political organization would not be used as a plank to pull the State out of India?
- c) in the State, which is excluded from the Indian political organization only on the basis of its Muslim majority character and to ensure its Muslimisation, how would the return of half a million Hindus, flushed out of Kashmir and Doda, under a well devised plan of ethnic cleansing, be ensured?

20. The new world governed by the Universal Declaration of Human Rights does not accept any majority oppression as a part of the legitimate political process. The restoration of 1953 status, virtually underlines the recognition of the Muslim majoritarianism as a basis of constitutional organisation of Jammu and Kashmir and its relation with India.

Any such proposition is not acceptable to the Hindus and the other minorities in the State. It violates the secular character of Indian polity, Indian commitment to human rights and right to life, equality and freedom that the Hindus, and other minorities possess, not only in consequence of the Constitution of India but as inherent and inviolable claims to justice. With widespread militant violence going on unabated in the State, and the context of international involvement forced by militarisation of secessionism upon India, the demand for the exclusion of the State from the Indian constitutional organization, has sinister forebodings. Disengagement of the State from the Indian political organization, while the war of attrition is raging in the State, will be tantamount to accepting defeat before the war actually ends.

21. The restoration of the separate political identity of the State on the basis of the Muslim majority character of its population will reinforce the Muslim claim to a veto on accession of the State to India.

The insistence of the Muslim League on a separate State to protect the Muslims from the Hindu majority in India and the right of the Indian Muslims to reconstitute themselves into a Muslim State, were the two basic planks on which India was divided. The creation of an autonomous State of Jammu and Kashmir on the territory of India, but outside its political organization on the same basis will go half way to substantiate the claim of Pakistan to Jammu and Kashmir. The Committee must consider, seriously, that neither the State Government nor the Government of India has the right to bring about the dissolution of the State of India.

- | | | | |
|----|------------------------|-------------|-------|
| 1. | Bansi Lal Kaul | - Chairman. | _____ |
| 2. | Dr. M.K.Teng | - Member | _____ |
| 3. | O.N.Pandita | - Member | _____ |
| 4. | Prof. K.B.Razdan | - Member | _____ |
| 5. | Ashwani Kumar Chrungoo | - Member | _____ |
| 6. | S.Raina | - Member | _____ |
| 7. | Vijay Kumar | - Member | _____ |

COMMITTEE TO BUILD RESPONSE ON AUTONOMY (CBRA)
(Constituted By Kashmiri Pandit Global Summit-19th & 20th Jan. 1997)
232-C, Ram Vihar, Old Janipura, Jammu, Pin : 180007

No. 1997/1

Dated :25-02-1997

Shri Balraj Puri,
Working Chariman,
Regional Autonomy Committee,
34-B/B,
IInd Extn, Gandhinagar,
Jammu.

Dear Shri Puri Ji,

We forward a memorandum, for the consideration of the Regional Autonomy Committee, on behalf of the Committee to Build Response On Autonomy (CBRA) constituted by the Kashmiri Pandit Global Summit held recently on 19th-20th January, 1997 at Jammu. In this connection, we also invite a reference to your letter dated 1st Feb, 1997 addressed to Shri. Ashwani Kumar Chrungoo.

Please acknowledge the receipt of the dispatch.

Thanks and Regards

Sincerely Yours,

(Bansi Lal Kaul)
Chariman, CBRA

* **Encl:**

Memorandum.

MEMORANDUM

Jammu and Kashmir is a heterogeneous State, with a number of geographical regions and sub-regions, representing different climates, fauna and flora. People possessing different ethnic backgrounds, professing different faiths, and a variety of cultural traditions and speaking different languages, reside in the State. What is more significant is that the people living in these regions have not still attained a uniform level of development.

In the middle of the nineteenth century, Maharaja Gulab Singh and his son Maharaja Ranbir Singh did a commendable job by welding the diverse hilly areas on the south east of Pamir Plateau, stretching from river Ravi in the east upto Indus in the west, and bordered in the south by the plains of Punjab, into a single administrative entity under British suzerainty, known as "Jammu Kashmir Wa Tibet Ha". After the British Government created two independent dominions of India and Pakistan and withdrew their suzerainty over the Indian princely states on August 15, 1947, Maharaja Hari Singh of Jammu and Kashmir acceded to the Dominion of India on October 26, 1947, by signing the Instrument of Accession.

2. TERMS OF REFERENCE OF THE REGIONAL AUTONOMY COMMITTEE.

The purport of the Terms of Reference of the Committee, set up by the Government for Regional Autonomy, is the better involvement and participation of people in the institutions and power structure that exist. The purpose is to make recommendations in order to remove discrimination suffered by the people, so that justice-- economic, social, cultural and educational, becomes easily available to them, and they are able to live with a full sense of security, free from fear and exploitation. In this context, we expect the Committee on Regional Autonomy to delve deeper within the geographical confines of the regions, so that the labour put in by the Committee proves really fruitful, by way of improving the life of an

individual human so that he or she does have an opportunity to develop his or her potential to the maximum possible extent.

The regions are not to be developed for their own sake. The development of the regions has to be effected for the benefit of the people, residing therein. There are regions where some sections of the population have got better chances of development, as a result of living in the same regions while others have continued to be deprived of the fruits of development. Therefore, it is hoped that the real spirit of regional autonomy, due attention will be paid towards the development of the ignored sections of the populace.

Due care has also to be exercised in determining the index and perimeters of progress and development, backwardness and under-development of various segments of population, residing in a region. While determining backwardness, usually such factors as education, and professions depending upon academic qualifications were taken into account, and very little consideration was attached to factors like possession, control and monopoly over the means of production, such as ownership of land, orchards, modes of transport, industry, trades, etc. There are also segments of population within these regions that are ignored in view of caste, religious and social bias against them. It shall, therefore, be in the fitness of things that such sections of the people living in respective regions, are identified, who instead of forging ahead have suffered retardation due to certain administrative policies.

3. EMERGENCE OF MUSLIMS AS A POLITICALLY DOMINANT FORCE IN THE STATE

After termination of the emergency administration (Oct; 28, 1947 to March 5, 1948), the Interim Government with a Council of Ministers was constituted by a proclamation, issued by the Maharaja on March 5, 1948. In his proclamation, the Maharaja declared that the Council of Ministers would make arrangements for constitution of a National Assembly to frame the Constitution for the Government of the State. It was also ordained in this proclamation that the deputies to the National Assembly would be elected on the basis of

adult franchise, ostensibly because of the heterogeneous character of the State and a dispersal settling down of the minorities in various regions of the State. The Maharaja further desired that in the Constitutional structure to be evolved by the proposed National Assembly, the minorities would be "provided adequate safeguards".

On account of various reasons, the Maharaja relinquished his office on June 9, 1949, in favour of his son, Yuvraj Shri Karan Singh. On October 27, 1950, the National Conference by a resolution asked for holding of an election to the State Constituent Assembly. On May 1, 1951, the Yuraj issued a proclamation convoking the Constituent Assembly through adult franchise by direct and secret ballot. Interestingly, this proclamation made no reiteration of the Maharaja's intention of providing special representation to the minorities. On the other hand, it was laid out in this proclamation that the Government would make rules, instructions and orders, to give effect to the terms of the Proclamation. Thus, it fell upon the Government, in the first instance, and, ultimately, on the Constituent Assembly, to evolve and establish instrumentalities, in order to protect the interests of the minorities.

The State Constituent Assembly ignored to take note of the heterogeneous character of the State and the protection of the interests of the minorities and other weaker sections of the population. The ignored sections of the population expressed their grievances from time to time, and even launched agitations to press for the acceptance of their demands. To pacify the agitations, the Government at times, appointed Commissions of Inquiry to look into regional and other grievances. The recommendations of these Commissions, particularly those headed by Justice Sikri and Justice Gajandhargadkar involved a restructuring of administration at the district level and providing adequate representation to the deprived people of the various regions in the Council of Ministers, were not implemented. Even after the constitution of the Ladakh Hill Development Council, under proper legislation, its functioning has not been free from conflict. Every attempt has been made to make this institution non-functional and redundant. The District Development Boards, which have been set up under orders of the executive for formulation, execution, implementation and monitoring of the district

development plans, have been rendered ineffective by the Government through manipulation and indifference. The local self governing institutions have been superseded and their working has got controlled by the officers of the Government. The mismanagement and manipulation of these institutions have been engineered by the vested Muslim majority interests of the valley whose ascendance and dominance in position of power have been assured through legal and political means.

The last Delimitation Commission carved out 87 constituencies, on territorial basis, for election of 87 members in 1996 to the Legislative Assembly. The table given below reflects the average population and area per constituency.

Region	Estimated Population*	Area in Sq.kms	No. of Constituencies	Average Population	Average Area Sq.Kms
Kashmir	40,10,202	15,948	46	89,352	346
Ladakh	1,70,541	59,146	4	42,635	1,486
Jammu	35,37,957	26,293	37	95,620	719
Total	77,18,700	1,01,387	87	88,709	1,165

*Source: Government of Jammu and Kashmir Digest of Statistics(1993-94)

Dominance of the Kashmir region over the Jammu region, in the Legislative Assembly, is visible on the twin basis of population and area. Whereas, Kashmir has 4.73 Lakh more of population than Jammu, it could on the basis of 89,000 average population per constituency in the State claim 5 more seats than Jammu against which it has been allocated 9 seats, viz 80% in excess of what is due. Area-wise also, Jammu has been discriminated against in the matter of allocation of Assembly seats.

To perpetuate a complete and continuous dominance of the Muslims even within the Valley, the Assembly constituencies where the Kashmiri Hindus could politically be

represented, were restructured. Accordingly, the localities of Rainawari, Habbakadal, and Karan Nagar in Srinagar city, were fragmented in order to reduce them to an insignificant part of the contiguous Muslim dominated constituencies, thereby depriving the Hindus to elect representatives to the Assembly, on their own strength. While three Kashmiri Hindus were returned to the Assembly in 1957, 1962 and 1967, the number was subsequently restricted to one member only in 1972, 1977, 1983, 1987, and 1996, as shown in the following table:-

Year	Constituency	Name of Legislator.
1957	Amirakadal	Shri Sham Lal Saraf
	Habbakadal	Shri D. P. Dhar
	Kothar	Shri Manohar Nath Koul
1962	Kothar	Shri Manohar Nath Koul
	Amirakadal	Shri Sham Lal Saraf
	Habbakadal	Shri D.P Dhar
1967	Devsar	Shri Manohar Nath Koul
	Pahalgam	Shri Makhan Lal Fotedar
	Habbakadal	Shri Sri Kanth Kaul
1972	Pahalgam	Shri Makhan Lal Fotedar
1977	Pahalgam	Shri Piyarey Lal Handoo
1983	Pahalgam	Shri Piyarey Lal Handoo
1987	Habbakadal	Shri Piyarey Lal Handoo
1996	Habbakadal	Shri Piyarey Lal Handoo

It is significant to note here, that the Kashmiri Hindus launched an agitation in 1967 against the majoritarianism of the Muslims in the Valley. The numerical reduction of the Kashmiri Hindu MLAs to only one can be defined as a direct consequence of the above agitation. Both on the basis of their population and in view of their historical role in the freedom struggle, at the national and the state level, there was no justification for their political exclusion to make them politically insignificant, especially in a State that professes a secular and democratic set-up.

As soon as the accession of the State with the Union of India was brought about, the power was transferred to the people and the State Government was reconstituted. The Muslim majority in the State enforced its precedence in the governance of the State. The ruling elite of the State succeeded in establishing a separate political organization for the State, outside the constitutional organization of India, on the basis of the Muslim majoritarian character of the population, thereby foisting a Muslim precedence and domination in the State. The period from 1947-1957, is of great significance and the development that took place during this period needs careful study and analysis for a better understanding and framing of right perceptions. The state was ruled by decrees and ordinances during this period of ten years and this dispensation did not accept (i) Right to equality, (ii) Right to equality of opportunity (iii) Right to protection against discrimination on the basis of religion, race, place of birth, sex or caste, (iv) Right to legal freedom of faith, (vi) Right to own and manage religious endowments, religious places, religious property and religious institutions, (vii) Right to protection against persecution of the minorities. The Legislature and Executive of the Government of the State exercised arbitrary powers of classification of population in effecting the right of the minorities in almost all the spheres of life.

4. THE EXCLUSION OF KASHMIRI PANDIT COMMUNITY FROM TOTAL STRUCTURE OF KASHMIR

In the Kashmir Valley, a verbal campaign was started soon after the take over of power by the new ruling elite in 1947, to the effect that Kashmiri Hindus had 'greener pastures' available outside the State. This had a double edged pernicious effect on the entire population of the Valley. For the Kashmiri Hindus, it resulted in their destabilization in their Homeland, while for Muslims it created a separatist psyche. "Greener pastures" phrase was given currency as a cover-up mechanism for the slow but steady exodus of Kashmiri Pandit community from Kashmir. This proved ominous for its future prospects, stability, peace and security within the State. The Kashmiri Hindus had participated in large numbers in the freedom struggle and also helped to evolve the Nationalistic Movement, with its progressive economic programme in the State. There could, therefore, have been no reason for launching a campaign which virtually put the Kashmiri Hindus on the hit list of the Government. The Kashmiri Hindus also fully appreciated the justification and need for giving relief to the peasantry, that comprised overwhelmingly, Muslims in Kashmir, from the crushing burden of debts and out-dated land tenure system. There was, therefore, no justification for the ruling elite to create misgivings in the minds of the majority community, against the minority Hindus. It is significant that the prominent Kashmiri Hindus like Shri Damodar Bhat, a well known lawyer of Badgam and Shri Reshi Dev, played a major role of revival of peasant economy in early fifties, by associating themselves with debt conciliation work. The ruling elite of Kashmir launched another vilification campaign against the Kashmiri Hindus, labelling them as symbols of exploitation worth to be condemned and punished. The fact was that the Landlords were a definite class comprising Hindus, Muslims, Sikhs etc. products of a feudal society. The rulers aroused hatred of Muslim peasantry against the Hindu land owners as oppressors. The fact, however, was that Shri D.P.Dhar and Shri Jia Lal Tameri, had themselves on their own distributed among the tenants their ancestral land held by them in ownership through inheritance, well before the Land Ceiling Act was passed. The magnanimity of these Kashmiri Pandits was never brought within the public notice by the

rulers. There is no evidence to show that any Muslim, including the advocates of Naya Kashmir, to have taken such a step. Their (K.Ps') sense of patriotism and commitment to a democratic way of life was ridiculed. It is with deep anguish and a heavy heart, that mention needs to be made about the fact that even a leader of the stature of Sheikh Mohammad Abdullah, could not avoid becoming a party to Kashmiri Pandit hate-campaign by labelling them as "fifth column of India" which was used as an instrument by Muslim fundamentalists against the helpless community.

The Kashmiri Hindus were eager that social and economic condition of the Kashmiri Muslim masses of the Valley be improved. For this purpose, they launched a relentless effort in the pre-independence era, so that the modern education, among the Muslims of the Valley could spread and take roots. Shri Govind Koul and others founded National School at Baramulla and a similar school at Shopian was founded by Shri Swaroop Nath Raina, a veteran freedom fighter. Earlier, Prof. Srikanth Toshkhani had founded a girls school at Srinagar for spreading female education, under the Women Welfare Trust. Besides all this, there were many Kashmiri Hindus, who in their individual capacity did their best to spread modern education among the Muslim masses. Even the Islamia School at Srinager, was mostly manned by Kashmiri Hindus. In the field of medical care, it was Dr. Shamboo Nath Peshin and others who founded National Hospital, for providing medical facility to the masses, which generally included Muslims. Pandit Kashyap Bandhu became the pioneer of the idea for establishment of Labour Board, to improve the miserable plight of Kashmiri Muslim labourers, working as porters in Jammu and the plains. Kashmiri Hindus dissuaded the business community in Jammu and other northern Indian cities of Punjab, from using the despicable nomenclature of 'hato' for Kashmiri Muslim labourers. All this and other similar contributions to ameliorate the lot of their Muslim brethren, on the part of the Kashmiri Hindus were totally ignored and forgotten. Apart from rousing malice and hatred of the majority Muslim community against the Kashmiri Hindus, the rulers of the State in the post-1947 period took special policy decisions to harass and destabilize them in the Valley. The implementation of land reforms legislation brought about a change not only in the social

relationship but also exercised a deep impact upon the economic condition of the people. The landlords, whose lands were appropriated as a result of these reforms in 1950, suffered a curtailment of their incomes that they used to derive from land. For the Muslim landlords, the other avenues of earning their livelihood were made available, but it was not so in the case of the Hindus of the Valley, as a community. Soon after assuming power, the rulers ordered premature retirement of the Government employees who had attained fifty years of age or had a total service of 25 years. Simultaneously, as a matter of policy, fresh recruitment in Government services was, by and large, restricted to the ratio of population. Not only that, a similar policy was adopted in respect of selection and nomination for higher and technical education, outside the state. As a result of retrenchment from Government service and drastic curtailment of fresh recruitment, and no alternate avenue of livelihood being available to them in the forties and early fifties, the Kashmiri Hindus, to save themselves from starvation, were left with no option but to leave the State. Earlier, in the wake of raids on the State, sponsored by Pakistan, a large number of the Kashmiri Hindus of the Valley had already left the State. In addition, due to the decision of the State Government, not to allow Hindu refugees, including Sikhs, from Muzaffarabad district and those areas of Baramulla which came to be occupied by Pakistan, to settle in the Valley, the population of the Hindus in Kashmir got substantially reduced. Significantly, the Muslims from Sinkiang province of China were allowed to live in the Valley. This brought about a significant demographic change in the Valley, reducing the Kashmiri Hindus to the status of an ineffective minuscule minority.

The policy of discrimination against the Kashmiri Hindus was followed by their exclusion from the economic, social, political and administrative set-up of the State, a policy ruthlessly followed by the rulers from 1947 up to 1989-90, which paved the way for their ethnic cleansing, subsequently. The Big Landed Estates Abolition Act, 1950, did not at all keep an opening for a landlord to work as a tenant, in case he would like to do so. According to this Act, the land held by a landlord beyond the fixed ceiling, was transferred to the tiller without payment of compensation to the landlord. The Agrarian Reforms Act, 1976, however, while providing opportunity for the landlord to become a self-cultivation tenant, restricted this

option to him by imposing the domicile condition that worked against the landlords, particularly the Hindus, who had already in consequence of a social and economic bias and discrimination and security/compulsions, been forced to leave the villages to live in the nearby towns, within the Valley or leave the State for good. The chance for the Hindus of the Valley to work as self-cultivating tenants was closed and they had no option but to accept payments, in lieu of extinguishments of rights on land. The chances for retreat and reform were denied to this community, in various economic fields, No initiative was taken to diversify the Kashmiri Pandit Community into other sectors of economy, where their absence was conspicuous.

Government employment avenues for the Kashmiri Hindus had already been restricted. They were not encouraged or helped by the Government to take to business, tourism, including hotels and houseboats, transport, industry, forest etc. The result was that there was negligible or no presence of the Kashmiri Hindus in these lucrative avenues. In respect of Government services, fresh recruitment of the Kashmiri Hindus was restricted to the ratio of their population, which was deliberately and wilfully understated. Even those who managed their entry into services under extremely and adverse difficult conditions, were continuously suppressed and discriminated against and they had to fight long legal battles in the High Court and even in the Supreme Court, for restoration of their rights. Even after obtaining favourable judgements, the rulers of the State did every thing to delay the implementation of Court decisions.

The rulers of Kashmir in the post-1947 era, systematically and in a planned manner, initiated the process of bias and discrimination resulting in the elimination of the Kashmiri Hindus from the social, economic, and administrative set-ups and cultural structures of the Valley. This action of the rulers was supplemented by the Muslim fundamentalists and secessionists by rousing the sentiments of the majority community against the Hindu minority of the Valley. The disputes regarding the lands attached to the shrines, temples and cremation grounds of the Hindus, were initiated. With the help of the Executive power of the

Government, these lands were allowed to be grabbed. The Jamat-e-Islami Madrasas preached and instilled open hatred against the Hindus, among the Muslim children attending these Madrasas. Everything possible was done to harass the minorities in the valley and create an atmosphere of insecurity for them.

5. LAST NAIL IN THE COFFIN.

The happenings of 1989-90 were the logical culmination of the process that had been set in motion since 1947. The genocide and exodus of the Kashmiri Hindus from the Valley was not an aberration or an isolated happening. The seeds of this sordid event which had been sown in 1947, 1967 and 1986 were well nurtured to bloom fully, in 1989-90. It would be wrong to attribute the genocide and ethnic cleansing to the gun culture alone. The narration of the details leading to the genocide and ethnic cleansing will be time consuming and voluminous. Therefore, the details have been omitted but the mention of the events is necessary.

Due to the domination of Islamic fundamentalist and secessionist elements in the State administration of the Valley, particularly in the sensitive positions, the administrative structures collapsed with ease in no time, without offering any resistance, as soon as the green signal of going ahead was received. This not only facilitated the rise of terrorism against the Hindus of Kashmir, but also helped to strengthen insurgency against the Indian Union through all possible means available to the subversives in the Valley. Even the press in the Valley acted as a mouthpiece of the terrorists and insurgents and eulogized and even glorified terrorist and insurgent operations. A submissive and emasculated press encouraged passive submission of the political workers of various hues, by publishing their paid advertisements, disowning their association with such political parties as had vouched for secularism, democracy and the integrity of India. Such political parties and set-ups were even condemned. The role of the so-called mainstream political parties which had been the beneficiaries of power and influence from 1947 onwards in the state, was not only dubious but proved helpful in encouraging violence by their observing steadied silence. Their top leadership left the

Valley for Delhi and elsewhere, soon after January, 1990, leaving the field open for the terrorists and their secessionist political leadership in the Valley. No resistance, whatsoever, was offered by these mainstream parties to the anarchy and mayhem that prevailed.

Along with the selective killings of the prominent Kashmiri Hindus, the terrorists resorted to intimidation of the Hindus, loot of their property and the rape of their women. These insurgents pasted names of the Kashmiri Hindus, listed on their hit lists, on lamp-posts in Hindu localities, to terrorise the community. Notices, fixing the dates for the Hindus to quit the Valley, were issued through local papers. Above all, anti-Hindu and pro-secession and Islamic fundamentalist slogans were blared, for nights together, over loud-speakers from mosques, throughout the Valley. No one in the Valley spoke against what was happening. Everyone was overwhelmed and drifted along with the current of terrorism. Lakhs of people demanding secession, chanting slogans of "Nizami Mustafa" and led by armed terrorists, paraded in the streets of Srinagar. Hell was let loose on the Hindu Minority. They had no place to hide themselves, except to obey the terrorists' dictates to quit the Valley, leaving behind their valuable immovable as well as movable properties, worth several thousand crores. They were compelled to give up their jobs, business, income yielding assets, etc. in full knowledge of the fact that they would face hostile weather and starvation outside the Valley which was their ancestral habitat and with which they had both material and spiritual attachment. This concluded the process of liquidation of Kashmiri Pandit community from Kashmir.

The Committee on Regional Autonomy is broadly expected to work out plans for creating instrumentalities for the equal regional development and for the upliftment and development of the population living in various regions of the State. It is quite understandable as well as possible that the Kashmiri Pandit Community will be bracketed with the majority of Muslims living in the Valley. Paradoxically, they have been denied co-existence by the majority community in the Valley. The agenda of exclusion of the Kashmiri Pandits on the part of the Muslims, has virtually been completed after the ethnic cleansing. Any plan or

mechanism for the development of the Valley and its people will never mean anything for this displaced community. The first and vital problem for the Kashmiri Pandit community is its rehabilitation in the Valley as per a plan which has to take into consideration, security of life, property and honour, continuity of community culture and faith, besides the economic rehabilitation of the Pandits. It has also to be ensured that the community does not face another ethnic cleansing in the future, a cleansing that came as a sequel to their marginalisation and exclusion from the total life of the Valley. It will not be out of place to mention here that most of the Kashmiri Pandits who had gone to Baramulla, to live in their homes in 1992 and 1996, did not find any place in the established theocratic set-up in the Valley, and most of them are again living as displaced people outside the Valley. Till date, the Government has not come out with any genuine or feasible plan of their rehabilitation, for reasons not too far to seek, after going through this memorandum. The Kashmiri Pandits have formulated a plan of rehabilitation, indicated in the Homeland resolution of 1991 and January 1997 (copies enclosed) in which the K.P. community has resolutely demanded:-

- (a) **the establishment of homeland for Kashmiri Hindus in the Kashmir Valley, comprising the regions of the valley to the East and North of river Jhelum(Vitasta).**
- (b) **that the Constitution of India be made applicable in letter and spirit in this homeland in order to ensure the right to life, liberty, freedom of expression, faith, equality and rule of law.**
- (c) **that their homeland be placed under Central Administration with a Union Territory status so that it evolves its own economic and political infrastructure.**
- (d) **that all the seven lakh Kashmiri Hindus, who include those that were driven out of Kashmir in the past and yearn to return to their homeland**

and those who were forced to leave on account of the terrorist violence in Kashmir be settled in the homeland on equitable basis with dignity and honour.

It will be a betrayal of the spirit of regional autonomy concept and a travesty of justice if the Kashmiri Pandits are bracketed with the Muslims of the Valley. We hope that the Hon'ble chairman and other members of the Regional Autonomy Committee, will take into consideration the facts and ground realities and deliver justice to the worst victims of discrimination, ensuring them a life, full of security, cultural preservation and freedom from majority oppression.

1.	Bansi Lal Kaul	-Chairman.	_____
2.	Dr. M.K.Teng	-Member	_____
3.	O.N.Pandita	-Member	_____
4.	Prof. K.B.Razdan	-Member	_____
5.	Ashwani Kumar Chrungoo	-Member	_____
6.	S.Raina	-Member	_____
7.	Vijay Kumar	-Member	_____

COMMITTEE TO BUILD RESPONSE ON AUTONOMY (CBRA)
Date: 25-02-1997, Jammu(INDIA)

JULY-1997Kashmiri Hindu Response to the Officers Committee**A) Constitution of Officers Committee**

The Officers Committee set up by the government, to interact with the displaced Kashmiri Hindus, held two meetings with some individuals and delegates at Jammu on June 6 and 7, 1997 regarding the "safe return of migrants". An advertisement was also issued in a local Jammu paper on June 6, whereby the migrants/representatives of Anantnag and Budgam districts were asked to meet the Committee on 6 and 7 June 1997. The Convenor of Panun Kashmir Movement (PKM) contacted the Chairman of the Committee on phone on June 6, 1997 to enquire whether the Kashmiri Pandit organizations would be invited to attend the meeting of the Committee to enable them to place their view point on the important issue of resettlement of the KP community in the Valley. The Convenor of PKM was informed that the work of the Committee would continue for quite sometime, and this matter could be attended to by the Committee by the end of June 1997.

The manner in which the Committee has started its work, instead of generating confidence in the Kashmiri Pandits, has created doubts about its sincere intention towards the beleaguered and exiled community. We, therefore, state hereunder unambiguously that:

- i) The displacement due to the forced exodus has been total in respect of the community. The problem cannot be solved by compartmentalizing it into districts or various interest groups within the community. The problem has to be examined and dealt with, on the community basis in its totality.
- ii) The Kashmiri Pandits are interested in their resettlement on a permanent basis, in their "Homeland" so that they may not again be squeezed out by

imposing on them various types of invidious policies, visible or invisible, and subjected finally to genocide.

- iii) Their return and resettlement in the Valley has to be lasting and permanent. It has not to be apparent to lend credibility of the power structures. Their return has not to be at the behest of some one else for his satisfaction, but it has to be so arranged and organized that the community itself is attracted to return and resettle. The Kashmiri Hindus do not want only 'safe return' but they also want a secure, honourable and permanent resettlement and living conditions in the valley.

B) Exclusion and Liquidation of Kashmiri Hindus from the Valley.

The displacement of the Kashmiri Hindus from their native land started after the installation of a "responsible government" in 1947 in the State. The members of the community were subjected to the majoritarianism and the Muslim precedence soon after the independence of India. Initially, bias was generated against the members of the community in a subtle manner which was supplemented and followed by:

- discrimination
- intimidation
- ridicule, usurpation of temple lands, and cremation grounds
- neglect
- economic squeeze
- communal violence;
- destruction and damage of religious places and shrines
- failure of the law enforcing agencies to take action, as per law, against the community baiters;

By this process, in course of time, the Kashmiri Hindus were reduced from a minority to the status of an ineffective minority. Conditions became so bad and precarious for this community that it was forced to surrender its right to take out even a religious procession

once a year, on Shree Krishen Janam Ashtami from 1967 onwards in Srinagar city. Thus the organized structures of power were successful in excluding this ineffective minority of Kashmiri Hindus from the social life of Kashmir. The gun culture that was encouraged by acts of commission and omission to establish Nizami Mustaffa in place of a secular, democratic constitutional set-up to effect secession of the State from the Union of India, proved to be the last nail in the coffin of the already excluded Kashmiri Hindu community to complete its liquidation from Kashmir. Thus Kashmir was ethnically cleansed in 1989-90.

C) Kashmiri Hindus under the present elected Government of the State

The elected Government of the State has been in office for the last nine months. None of the policies which resulted in the present plight of the Kashmiri Hindus have been modified, not to speak of being reversed. Only about one and a half months ago there was a massacre of the left-out Kashmiri Hindus at Sangrampura, Badgam. This was preceded and followed by provocative statements against the community both within and outside the State Legislature by the Chief Minister. Then, on March 25, 1997, the peaceful mourning procession of the Kashmiri Pandits was lathicharged and teargased at Jammu which left about 150 Pandits injured. Again the yatris' (pilgrims') bus going to the Kheer Bhawani shrine on June 13, 1997 was attacked by a hand grenade which was reported to have resulted in the death of one local pilgrim. It was for the first time in the last eight years that pilgrims going to the Kheer Bhawani shrine were attacked. Kashmiri Pandits had to suffer selective killings of three academicians who were dragged out of the bus at Grat Mohar near Gool on June 14, 1997, when they were going to join their duties in the far flung area after availing summer vacation. It is unfortunate that despite escalation of violence in Gool and Mohar areas of Udhampur for quite sometime past, the Government failed to gear up security. For the terrorists, the Kashmiri Pandits are merely soft targets who can be disposed of at will by them. It is regrettable that these terrorists have mustered courage to train their guns on the Pandit community even in Jammu during the regime of the present Government.

D) Social Dialogue

Kashmiri Pandits are firm believers in democratic process. They believe that it is through dialogue held across the table that a solution to the knotty problems can be evolved. However, the pre-requisite is that the parties to the dialogue should not proceed with pre-conceived notions. The officers of the Committee, constituted by the State Government to facilitate a 'safe return of the migrants' to the Valley, "is in favour of holding a social dialogue with the Muslim brethren" by the Kashmiri displaced Hindus. The Committee also claims that it is the opinion of the majority of the displaced Hindus who met them. They are further reported to be of the view that "neither the Government nor the security forces can ensure their security in the Valley. Only the majority community and an atmosphere of good will can generate their safety."

The Officers Committee met some individuals on June 6 and 7, 1997 whereafter a press statement was issued. The Committee deliberately avoided to meet the representatives of prominent Kashmiri Pandit organisations, before going to the press, to ascertain their views on this initial issue involving the future of the entire community. Therefore, the conclusions of the Committee are partial, not representing the genuine view of the Community. These conclusions are too simplistic, obviously far from reality. These are not only exclusive but are highly motivated too, which conceal much and reveal little.

In the Indian democratic set-up, the security forces are only the instruments subordinate to civilian authority to be used whenever the need arises. In that context the security forces are not the guarantors of security. In the case of Jammu and Kashmir, particularly the valley, it was the woeful failure of the ruling elite and other power structures from 1947 onwards that created an unprecedented situation of political uncertainty in the Valley, leading to communal suspicions and hatred. The security forces had no role in creating that situation. It was due to these policies coupled with the anti Hindu minority policies that led to a slow and steady ouster of lakhs of Kashmiri Pandits between 1947 to 1989 from the Valley.

The ruling elite of the valley has always been a victim of a self-created dilemma. These chosen few always allowed themselves to be haunted by and sandwiched between their historic experiences of the foreign Muslim rule of Kashmir, and their fascination for the two nation theory that formed the basis of Pakistan. To the Hindus of the Valley there was no such inhibition. They have always been the votaries of Indian democracy and believers in the integrity of India.

For nearly half a century, the Kashmiri Hindus have tried to adjust themselves with and live on the goodwill of the majority community of the Valley. But the pathetic results of that historical experience are before every one to see. Kashmiri Pandits shall have to act with more discretion before allowing themselves to be taken in by the goody goody talk.

Kashmiri Pandits are well aware that besides the gun wielders, a number of view points are currently voiced in the Valley concerning the future of the State. There are those who want to redecide the accession issue by exercise of the right of self determination to accede to India, to Pakistan or remain independent as an Islamic Republic. There are those who want to remain in the Indian territory but outside the constitutional organization of India by reversing the existing Union-State relationship to the pre-1953 status. Yet there are others who want the prevailing relationship between the Union and the State to continue. No doubt there is apparent divergence in these postulations, yet there is a tacit understanding among the propounders on taking maximum advantage of the helplessness and miseries faced by the Kashmiri Hindus. The Government has never cared to know the correct cause of the turmoil in the State and the catastrophe being faced by the Kashmiri Hindus. The Government has allowed the issue to be brushed aside to suit its political requirements.

The Kashmiri Pandits cannot afford to shut their eyes to this stark reality and accept the good-will of the majority, as a sole guarantee, for the minority safety in the Valley.

In the above context, the Kashmiri Pandits have, therefore, to hold a dialogue with the State/the Central Government to seek their honourable resettlement in the Valley. After having been displaced, they can no more afford to live on the majority good-will alone.

The Kashmiri Pandits know that the path ahead is long and hazardous. They have a firm faith in the genuiness of their cause and their own capacity to surmount the difficulties. They expect that with the passage of time, a congenial atmosphere will be created for holding a purposeful dialogue.

The Kashmiri Hindus have an inherent and inalienable right to live in Kashmir. They will never allow this right to be denied to them. They would always endeavour to live in Kashmir as rightful citizens of the State and the Indian State and not as a protected species by the majority.

It is for the Central and the State Governments to decide whether they require permanent presence of the Hindus in the Valley or they want to push them back to the Valley for show of gaining credibility. In case these Governments opt for former course, then a genuine effort shall have to be made and conditions created for Kashmiri Pandits' stay in the Valley attractively. To be precise the Central and the State Government shall have to constitutionally establish such Institutions as shall be effective enough to reverse and demolish the process of exclusion and liquidation of the Kashmiri Pandits so that a sense of security is generated in them to be able to live full life and contribute to the prosperity and development of the country. However, if the aim is to pull the wool over the eyes of the Indian nation, then we declare firmly that the efforts will bear no fruit. The Kashmiri Hindus will never allow people to exploit their miseries in exile for the success of their political game.

From –Panun Kashmir Movement(PKM)

PANUN KASHMIR MOVEMENT

OBSERVATIONS ON PROPOSED GOALS SET FOR LONDON MEET JUNE -1997

1. **Common Minimum Political Platform (CMPP)**

We pray and are also hopeful that the sincere efforts you have initiated will inspire the Kashmiri Pandits to evolve Common Minimum Political Platform (CMPP).

a) **Administrative and institutional adjustments for the physical survival of the community.**

b) **Constitutional adjustments for political viability.**

PKM after due deliberation and on the basis of experience feels that for the survival of the community in every respect carving out Union Territory in the Valley for a permanent resettlement of Kashmiri Pandits with free flow of Indian Constitution as per Margadarshan Resolution is quite imperative.

c) **Position vis-à-vis Autonomy Committee**

PKM has considered this matter already. Our memoranda addressed to two official committees of the J&K Government headed by Dr. Karan Singh and Shri Balraj Puri have already been submitted. These are now available in a booklet entitled "Chargsheet on Autonomy".

d) **Position vis-à-vis Human Rights Commission**

(Federal and State)

PKM has established a good rapport with the National Human Rights Commission (NHRC) after examining the Act and Rules of that Commission.

The Act and the Rules of the State Commission have not so far been notified and the Commission is yet to be set up. Therefore, no opinion can be expressed in this respect at this stage.

e) Position vis-a-vis Minorities Commission (Federal and State)

The Kashmiri Hindus are not treated as a minority in terms of the National Minorities Commission Act. The State Government has not yet taken any decision whether they would set up a commission for minorities.

PKM is of the opinion that a lasting solution of the Kashmiri Hindu problem cannot be found in an institution like Minority Commission.

The role of the National Minorities Commission is to evaluate progress and development of minorities, monitor safeguards provided in the Constitution and law, and look into the complaints of deprivation of rights, research and analysis of minorities problems and the like.

Such Commission may have some utility in respect of the stable and settled societies which are living in a peaceful atmosphere. Kashmiri Pandits have been displaced since 1947 deliberately, and forcefully in 1989-90 to suffer from lack of security in a wider sense –physical, economic, cultural and political. The role of the commission, being advisory as distinct from ‘protective’ or ‘preventive’, cannot at all be useful in the case of the Kashmiri Hindus. Our problem can be solved in an effective manner only when the community is freed from the dominance of majoritarian Muslim precedence and the rule of law is honoured and implemented without fear or favour. The demand of Union Territory where free flow of Indian Constitution is guaranteed without hindrance can alone be useful for the community in the prevailing situation.

f) Rehabilitation and economic incentives.

PKM has already declared its plan for a permanent rehabilitation of the community. The other issues have been taken up by PKM in detail with the NHRC. We have given to this Commission, for the asking, an interim list of the priority measures concerning relief. This list was discussed by the Commission and the PKM delegation with the State Chief Secretary and other senior officers from J&K. The NHRC published its recommendations through a press release that appeared in the Daily Excelsior, Jammu on April 1, 1996. The State Government has not implemented till date all these recommendations.

2. Establishment of a Joint Political Steering Committee

PKM welcomes the establishment of JPSC. The charter of the JPSC should not be in conflict with our policy and programmes which have been stated in sufficient detail.

3. Logistics of JPSC- naming and its Head

The heads/ representatives of participating groups can become members of the JPSC. PKM has always been for collective leadership as distinct from projection of a single person as 'HEAD'. The psyche of the KP community is against cultivation of personality cult. There are historical experiences of 1932, 1967 and 1990-93 before us when projection of one person as the leader or the head proved harmful to the community interests. Past mistakes should not be repeated.

To avoid disintegration or fall of the JPSC, PKM proposes to have a Secretary who will neither be Head nor member of the JPSC. He will function as the subordinate executive of JPSC. The Secretary will record decisions of the JPSC and perform all executive functions entrusted to him by the JPSC. The Secretary will be appointed for one year by the JPSC, which term may be extended upto one year more.

Indo European Kashmir Forum (IEKF)

- Shri Autar Tikou
- Dr. Pamposh Ganju
- Shri Rattan Kotwal
- Dr. Jeevan Rawal.

In addition, the following organizations were invited but were unable to attend:

All India Kashmiri Pandit Conference (AIKPC)

- Shri Hriday Nath Jattu

All India Kashmiri Samaj (AIKS)

- Shri Janki Nath Kaul

Kashmiri Pandit Association, Mumbai (KPA)

- Shri Pran Nath Wali.

Summary of Agreements

The aim of the Summit was to formulate a **Common Minimum Political Programme(CMPP)** that is acceptable to all the attending organizations.

The following was agreed upon:

To formulate a body that will encompass the existing organizations and provide a common voice under the name of **Kashmiri Pandit Political Steering Committee (KPPSC)**

The Charter for the CMPP of the KPPSC is as follows:

POLITICAL AGENDA

1. Recognition of factors that led to K.Ps living as refugees in their own country.
 - a) Article 370

- b) Indigenous Muslim fundamentalist and secessionist movements in Kashmir.
 - c) Exclusion from political, social and administrative structures in the State.
 - d) The insensitivity and inability of the Indian political system to act decisively and respond effectively to the events in Kashmir since 1947.
2. K.P.s are determined to return to Kashmir with honour, dignity and safety.
- a) We cannot afford to wait for the State Government to pick and choose the time and approach at its will.
 - b) The Internally Displaced K.P. community demands improvements in its current status because of the humiliating and deteriorating conditions in exile.
 - c) K.Ps are more determined than ever before to return to their roots in the Valley and to claim all fundamental and political guarantees for all times to come
3. K.Ps demand a serious dialogue with the State and the Central Government to expedite their return with constitutional, institutional and political guarantees on their terms.
- a) The State and the Central Government must seriously consider community alternatives that emphasise the creation of physical and geographical conditions that ensure their political existence.
4. K.P.s will continue the struggle in the National and International arenas until the demands of the safe return to the Valley are met.

- a) Mass media campaign all over the world.
- b) Demonstrations and meetings in India.
- c) Overseas activities .

5. Realization of our political demands in a co-coordinated and aggressive manner leading to a change from the past approach and culminating in the above Common Minimum Political Programme (CMPP) implemented by the KP political Steering Committee (KPPSC)

SOCIAL AGENDA

1. Preserve and restore religious places in Kashmir.
 - a) Consecration of temples, shrines and cultural centres not in current use.
 - b) To seek control and administration of all the K.P. religious and cultural places in Kashmir and organize group pilgrimages to these places.
2. Provide educational scholarship for the needy students, for primary, and higher education and technical (vocational) training. Seek admission for students.
3. Build a Heritage Centre in Jammu (library, archives, Martyr's memorial, picture gallery, iconography studies, film strips of Sharda and Devnagri manuscripts in archives, libraries and collections abroad etc).
4. Medical assistance for needy people. Monitor disease prevalence.
5. Social and cultural survey and community census incorporating an International K.P. Directory.
6. Programmes for the welfare and development of women.

The following organizational structure was developed and agreed upon:

The present body is structured around the geographical regions- Jammu, Delhi, Mumbai, Europe and North America(USA and Canada). **There will be equal commitment from all the participating organisations.**

The Chairman and Directors will be elected from the following regions on a yearly basis.

Position	Elected from the following regions
Chairman (Leader of the Group)	Jammu or Delhi
Director of Political Affairs	Jammu or Delhi
Director of Human Rights Affairs	Jammu or Delhi
Director of Cultural & Educational Affairs	Jammu or Delhi
Director of Economic Affairs	Jammu or Delhi or Bombay
Director of Press and Publicity	
Director of Inter- Party Affairs (National Parties)	Delhi
Director of Inter- Party Affairs (K.P. and other J&K Constituents)	Jammu or Delhi

Elections will be held by September each year. The election will be conducted by a Returning officer elected by the Committee. The method of election will be by postal ballot. Each participating organization will have one vote.

Footnote: All the participating organizations are free to pursue their own agenda as long as it is not prejudicial to the agreed goals of the Kashmiri Pandit Political Steering Committee.

Signatories to the Agreement (London Summit)

Shri Amar Nath Vaishnavi (ASKPC)

Shri Triloki Nath Khosa (KPS)

Shri Ashwani Kumar Chrungoo(PKM)

Shri Chaman Lal Gadoo (KSD)

Dr. Kundan Lal Chowdhury (PK)

Dr. Ashok Raina (KOA)

Shri Virender Sumbly (ICKF)

Shri Bansi Lal Kaul (KPAE)

Shri Avtar Tikou (IEKF)

Shri Rattan Kotwal
(Chairman of the Summit)

Friday, 20th June 1997
LONDON

KASHMIRI PANDIT LONDON SUMMIT

18th -21 st June 1997,

LONDON

The following office bearers of the newly constituted Kashmiri Pandit Political Steering Committee (KPPSC) were unanimously elected on Thursday, 19th June, 1997, for a period of one Year.

Position in KPPSC	Name	Affiliated Organisation
Chairman (leader of the group)	Shri. Amar Nath Vaishnavi	All State Kashmiri Pandit Conference(ASKPC)
Director of Political Affairs	Dr. Kundan Lal Chowdhary	Panun Kashmir (PK)
Director of Human Rights Affairs	Shri Ashwani Kumar Chrungoo	Panun Kashmir Movement (PKM)
Director of Cultural & Educational Affairs	Shri Triloki Nath Khosa	Kashmiri Pandit Sabha, Jammu (KPSJ)
Director of Economic Affairs	Shri Chaman Lal Gadoo	Kashmir Samiti, Delhi (KSD)
Director of Press and Publicity	Shri Chaman Lal Gadoo	Kashmiri Samiti, Delhi (KSD)
Director of Inter-Party Affairs (National Parties)	Shri Chaman Lal Gadoo	Kashmiri Samiti, Delhi (KSD)
Director of Inter-Party Affairs (K.Ps' other J&K constituents)	Shri Amar Nath Vaishnavi	All State Kashmiri Pandit Conference (ASKPC)

It was agreed that a white paper describing the nature of the portfolios in the KPPSC would be compiled by the KPPSC sub-committee.

The secretariat of the KPPSC would be set up in Jammu.

It was agreed that KPPSC would rent two rooms from Kashmiri Pandit Sabha, Jammu at a concession rate to be agreed upon later.

The address of the secretariat would be:

KPPSC
C/o Kashmiri Pandit Sabha
Amphalla
Jammu 180005 (India)

The secretariat will require the following:

1. Installation of two telephone lines.
2. Uninterrupted power supply.
3. Furniture (desks etc.)
4. Equipment (facsimile machine, telephone, computer, printer, photocopier etc).
5. Stationery.
6. Personal- computer, literate steno typist and an orderly.

The Chairman, Shri Amar Nath Vaishnavi, will require installation of a telephone line at his residence. This line will be transferred to the incoming Chairman as required. The secretariat will be stationed at the location of the Chairman. The office facilities will be available to the Executive Committee and exclusively used for the KPPSC work.

* * * * *

PANUN KASHMIR MOVEMENT(PKM)

Central Camp Office : Jammu

No. PKM/97-55
Dated : 20.09.1997

Sh. G.C.Miglani,
Dy. Secretary,
Rajya Sabha Secretariat,
127, Sansad Bhawan,
New Delhi

Dear Sir,

Kashmiri Pandit Presentation
Parliamentary Steering Committee of Home Affairs

Consequent upon our interaction with the Parliamentary Committee of Home Affairs during its visit to Jammu on 9th September, 1997 and the desire expressed by Sh. Sompal, honourable Chairman and the other worthy members of the Committee, we forward a detailed report on the subject. The Report titled "Exposition of Treachery" also includes our recommendations immediate and beyond in respect of the Kashmiri Pandit Displaced Community.

Kindly acknowledge the receipt. Thanks.

Sincerely Yours,

(Ashwani Kumar Chrungoo)

Convener

Add. For Correspondence

232 -C, Ram Vihar

Old Janipur,

Jammu-180 007

EXPOSITION OF TREACHERY

(Report for Parliamentary Steering Committee of Home Affairs.)

Kashmir on the eve of accession to India

1. One of the important aspects of the Kashmir turmoil is the humanitarian problems of Kashmiri Pandits to which many forceful factors have contributed, particularly since 1947. No doubt, the problems of Kashmiri Pandits, to which many forceful factors contributed, have their origin in the medieval times. But that is not brought into discussion as the administrative machinery of those times was monarchical. Since 1947, when India became independent, Kashmiri Pandits passed through the darkest period of history which extends to the present day, hour and minute. This all happened when our country had a democratic responsible Government.
2. In October 1947 Pakistan masterminded an invasion of Jammu and Kashmir State. The invaders included a large section of covetous and blood thirsty Muslims of tribal areas, which fell in the newly created Pakistan State. These raiders were guided and provided with wherewithal by the Pakistan Army which also subsequently joined them physically. The main objective of the State of Pakistan was simply to annex the territory of Jammu and Kashmir by force. These tribals were indoctrinated and motivated primarily on Muslim fundamentalism and were also allowed to have "ZAN, ZAVER, ZUR" (women, ornaments and cash) of 'Kafirs', non-Muslims. Here we do not intend writing the heart-rending events and details of this invention, but it is relevant to point out that the invasion took place after persons like Jenah and others who were at the helm of the State of Pakistan received a potent and clear message from the powerful political structure of National Conference that they wanted Kashmir to remain an independent separate Muslim state with the predominant character of Muslim identity. The invasion of Pakistan was equally

confronting the sovereignty of the princely Jammu and Kashmir State and the separate Kashmir Muslim identity. This all was because Pakistan could not afford anything that would defy the loyalty of the total Muslim fraternity of the world. The total political structure of Kashmiri Muslims had its own compulsion because of its historical memories of the foreign Muslim rule and cultural distinctions of Muslims in the Valley. The Muslims of the Valley were a heterogeneous lot on account of their race, culture, and language etc. The original inhabitants of Kashmir who were by then converted to Islam through persecution and proselytization had still strong bonds with the original culture of Kashmir which took the shape of "Reshi Cult", "Chuk" or "Atiquadi" sects; the other potent and powerful section was of the foreign Muslims "Kutch" (Hamdanis, Kirmanies, Madanies, Surfis, Baihaques, Shahmiris, Naquashbandis, Qadirs, Farooqis, Lankars, Kablies, Khans, Pathans, Kamalies, Fezalies, Sayeeds, Yarkandis, Ghanies, Pishawaries etc.) who carried the mind-set of the conqueror to annex the lands of "Kafirs" with great Muslim empires.

3. Kashmiri Pandit Community is the remnant of the original inhabitants or aborigines who withstood the forced conversion, persecution and strenuous exodus to other parts of the country. Kashmiri Pandits have a written history of over 5000 years. In 1947 they were a minority who valued the goodwill of the majority as a potent security mechanism. There was a great shock and shaking to the community when the goodwill of the Muslim majority failed them in 1931 and during 1947 aggression of Pakistan. Kashmiri Pandits who came under the blaze of Pakistani invasion were tormented by mass killings, rape and plunder. The local fundamentalist Muslims were very useful to the invaders in the identification of non-Muslims for being targeted. Besides, they were also responsible for the great part of all that happened during the raid.
4. The Kashmiri Pandits, for their own considerations, deliberately did not bring forth the true events of the raid prominently for two reasons. First they did not declare the death of goodwill of Muslims towards them for reason of retention of good communal relationship which was valued as an important component part of co-existence.

Secondly, the accession of the State to the Indian union promised democracy, secularism, protection of fundamental rights and modernization which were considered the harbingers of secured future and strengthening of co-existence.

Three factors had contributed to the disproportionately publicized Hindu-Muslim unity of the Valley in 1947. These are: -

- a) the dominant pre-Islamic Hindu cultural influence of synthesizing of various currents of culture was having still a potent bearing on the life style of the common man in the Valley. The best example of it was the existence of the remnants of the 'Reshi-Cult' in Kashmir.
- b) the slogan of "Hindu Muslim Sikh Itihad" which changed the Muslim movement (1931-1934) into people's movement owing to the fear of foreign Muslim domination.
- c) low level of political consciousness among the people of the Valley did not have the sufficient capability of exploiting Islam for political goals. They followed Islam purely at the religious plane and not as a comprehensive organized political culture and structure.

Despite this situation it could not sustain and withstand the temptation offered by zealous Muslim fundamentalism. This was the reason of the collapse of the amity firstly in 1931 and thereafter in 1947 in the areas that came under the tempest of Pakistan invasion.

6. The trend of exploiting Islam as a powerful political instrument has been on ascendance since 1947 for the following prominent reasons:-
 - a) creation of Muslim theocratic State of Pakistan along with such other state round the corner of India as a result of two nation theory which is a tribute to loyalty to the Islamic fraternity.
 - b) interference of other foreign Islamic countries.

- c) encouragement of western countries to indoctrinate Islamic politics to contain communism during cold war era.
- d) export of Islamic thrust from the cradle of Islam (the middle east) to the non-Islamic and secular countries, and
- e) failure of the Indian policy makers to recognize and encounter the emergence of the situation brought in by the above factors.

From 1947-1953

7. The Decision on the accession of Jammu and Kashmir State to the Union of India was delayed due to various reasons. It was brought after the aggression on the State by the neighbouring Pakistan. For the Maharaja, the common people of the State, and the Union of India, the accession was complete and irrevocable. It was executed in accordance with and provisions of the Indian Independence Act by executing the Instrument of Accession by the Maharaja of the State as done by other princely rulers who had acceded to the Union of India. The National Conference too supported the accession out of its compulsion of making it possible for the Indian forces to drive out the raiders from the main Kashmir valley. The Conference became oblivious of the provisions of the Instrument of Accession that did not provide for a conditional approach to accession which was final, complete and irrevocable. The Maharaja of the State categorically demanded from the Government of India to complete the clearance of the State from the presence of the raiders. On the other hand, the Conference leadership was satisfied only with the clearance of the main Valley from the presence of the raiders. The Conference was particular that the Kashmiri Muslims should remain out of the grip of Pakistan and therefore did not exert any pressure for clearance of the entire State territory from the raiders.
8. Alongwith the accession of the State to the Union of India, the process of putting under much strain the Central-State relationship was initiated by the total Kashmir's political structures by:

- a) non acceptance of financial integration,
- b) adopting of go-slow policy in the development plans including the first five years plan,
- c) starting of permit system for entry into and exit out of the State,
- d) continuance of the "Mujawaza" system (forced levy for recovery of food-grains from farmers on the predetermined rates by the Government instead of importing surplus food-grains from the neighbouring states of the Union of India.

All these measures contributed to the increase of the misery of the people of the State. These measures were taken to generate discontent among the people against India by debarring the people from the beneficial effects of accession and creating conditions for a long-term discontent. More stress was laid on politicizing of the Central-State relations than on development. It was during this period that Article 370 of the Indian constitution, that keeps the Jammu and Kashmir State outside the constitutional organization of India, and the subsequent Delhi Agreement 1952 came into existence. The relations between the State and Centre worsened, culminating in the August 9, 1953 events.

9. Kashmiri Pandits had accepted the finality of the accession in its true spirit. They expected to derive benefits of democracy, secularism, protection of their fundamental rights and their security as a minority in the State, social and political reforms and modernization. They did their best to open for all (voluntarily) even their own educational and social institutions. Important examples are the conversion of Hindu college into Gandhi Memorial College and Maharaja Harisingh High School, Baramulla, into National High School. Even before the passing of Big Landed Estates Abolition Act, there were examples of land transfer (voluntarily) by Kashmiri Pandits to their tenants. This all was done to initiate and prepare the ground for take off of the secularism in the state.

1953-1957

10. After the ouster of Sheikh Mohammad Abdullah from the Government, his followers constituted a "War-council" to challenge the accession and the new set-up that emerged in the State. In 1955, Mirza Mohammad Afzal Beg set up Plebiscite Front by merging in it the "War council". Beg became the President of the Front and Sheikh kept himself out of this organization for facilitating political manoeuvring. The objective of the Front was to obtain for the people of the State the right to plebiscite as an extra condition for the ratification of the accession. In due course of time the accession was openly questioned which lent tremendous support to Pakistan's position on Kashmir. The secessionist movement in the Valley and Doda district got a political boost that encouraged Pakistan to send infiltrators into the State which subsequently turned into the Indo-Pakistan war in 1965. Within the State, terrorism and gun-culture surfaced for the first time. Maqbool Bhat, leader of the JKLF assassinated Amarchand, an intelligence officer of the J&K Government. Al-Fathah and similar other organizations that believed in gun-culture surfaced during this period. The Plebiscite Front also organized "Tarak-i-mavalat" –boycott at social level- of the pro-accession politicians. Kashmiri Pandits were considered a hurdle in the process of secession and therefore they became targets of their wrath. The signal was loud and clear against the Kashmiri Pandits especially in consequence of the cold blooded murder of Amarchand.

1975-1989-90

11. In 1975 an accord was signed by Shrimati Indira Gandhi, Prime Minister of India and Sheikh Mohammad Abdullah. As per Shrimati Indira Gandhi, the accord was made "to secure the active participation of all democratic secular and progressive forces in the country". In effect it put a stop on the further constitutional integration of the State with the Union of India and even provided the scope for questioning of the process of integration that had taken place till then. It was declared in the Parliament by Shrimati Gandhi that Sheikh Abdullah was anxious to start constitutional relationship between the Centre and the State as it was in 1953, but it was explained to him by her that the

clock could not be put back. However, nowadays the present leadership of the National Conference is making serious efforts to revert to pre-1953 Central-State relationship. In the recently concluded Golden Jubilee commemorative session of the Parliament, a National Conference member of the Rajya Sabha made a highly loaded statement that if the clock could not be put back, Kashmiris were determined to break it.

12. The Plebiscite Front led by Beg was wound up by merging it in the National Conference in 1975. It became a potent section in the government. The workers of the Plebiscite Front, who became the members of National Conference, saw a rising hope of secession in the new set-up. At the time of 1977 Assembly elections, Beg symbolically suggested in his election speeches that vote for the National Conference would pave the way for secession. Beg exhibited to the people rock salt, a green handkerchief and pointing towards Rawalpindi road at Baramulla town he said that it would be opened. The people were emotionally made to believe that secession was round the corner. The leadership of the Conference in the subsequent elections continued to adopt anti-Indian stance so much so that indecent gestures were made by the political cadres in an election meeting of the Congress(I) addressed by Indira Gandhi in Iqbal Park at Srinagar. Along with this no attention was paid to solve day to day problems of people and the development funds were mismanaged. Patience of the political cadres was exhausted and they became disgruntled. The political leadership of almost all the parties, instead of containing disenchantment of their cadres, encouraged them to join anti Indian ranks. No mainstream political party of Kashmir offered any resistance to the observance of February 11 (date of hanging of JKLF activist Maqbool Bhat to death in Tihar Jail) as martyr's day. On the other hand an open drive to recruit youth and students was launched for joining hands for recruitment in the ranks of anti-accession elements. The fitness of youth was tested by organizing cricket matches in every Mohalla of city and towns and in villages too. In that situation it was very easy for gun-culture to take roots and thrive especially when

there already existed a hostile and scheming neighbour to take full advantage of the situation.

13. At this crucial period of history, the role of the Jamati-Islami can not be ignored. They had a chain of schools operating throughout the Valley where they injected into the impressionable minds of children anti-Indian sentiments and extolled the role of Islam as a comprehensive political culture in comparison to the Indian secularism. In these schools, Kashmir's pre-Muslim era was presented as a barbaric age which was got civilized only after political power passed into Muslim hands. The local tradition of Reshi-Cult and singing in praise of Allah or Prophet in mosques and shrines was treated as un-Islamic. Unfortunately, the Jamati-Islami was given political respectability by the Congress leadership in the early seventies when it collaborated with it. The Jamatis penetrated into the state administration and into the ranks of Plebiscite Front in the first instance and then into National Conference. Since 1975 it had a peculiar fall-out on Kashmiri Muslim psyche which accelerated the exclusion of the Pandits.

Exclusion

14. Alas! the cherished hopes of the Kashmiri Pandits were shattered throughout the years since 1947 on account of uncertainty about the terms of accession generated by the total political structure of the State, the Government of India and the Government of the State in relation to the minority Pandit community. In the background of political treachery enacted in the State, the sordid tale of the Kashmiri Pandit community began to be unfolded right from the date of accession of the State to the Union of India and the transfer of power to the representatives of the people. Exodus of Kashmiri Pandits took place from the Valley as early as in 1947, consequent upon the implications of the developing situation soon after accession. The policy of exclusion of the Kashmiri Pandits, from all walks of life began to reveal its nature. The policy was used as a weapon against the Pandits, but it was quite different from

the persecution of the community practised by the Muslim monarchies and proselytizers during the medieval period. The goal no doubt was the same i.e. to eliminate Kashmiri Pandits, the original inhabitants of Kashmir, from the Valley. The structural form of exclusion was manifested as economic squeeze. Permanent tenancy rights were given to tenants, who were Muslims in the valley, well before the passing of the Big Landed Estate Abolition Act 1950. This decision was taken by the Government after collection and careful examination of the classified data. The decision to reform tenancy before abolition of Zamindari was taken in a calculated manner to exclude the Kashmiri Pandit community from the agro economy and erode its rural base in the valley. The tenancy legislation fore-closed the chance of self tilling of land by the small land-owners particularly those belonging to the Kashmiri Pandit community. In the prevailing feudal society of Kashmir, the landlords belonged to all the communities, particularly an overwhelming number of this class were Muslims. But the political structures held the Pandits responsible for all the ills of the feudal system. A bias and hatred against the Pandit community was given birth to.

15. The option for the Kashmiri Pandits to become self-cultivating tenants was fore-closed and by the legal process they were detached and uprooted from the land and rural economy after denying them the opportunity for retreat and reform which was otherwise the accepted norm for the establishment of welfare State. The Agrarian Reform Act 1976, however, while providing an opportunity for the residual land holders to become self-cultivating tenants, restricted this option to them by imposing domicile condition that worked against the landlords, particularly the Kashmiri Pandits, who had already, in consequence of the social and economic bias and discrimination and security compulsions, been forced to leave the villages to live in the nearby towns within the Valley or leave the State for good. The chances for the Hindus of the Valley to work as self cultivating tenants in view of the above was closed and they were, therefore, obliged to accept meagre compensation in lieu

thereof. The other options available for earning livelihood in the State Government service had already been curtailed for them. The Government of the State had ordered retrenchment of their employees in view of the resource crunch in 1948. The axe of retrenchment had mostly affected the Pandits in the Valley. No encouragement was given to the Pandits to take up other avenues of earning available in forest, transport, business, tourism, and handicrafts, etc. The Pandits, to save themselves from starvation, had to leave the Valley for seeking jobs in the plains. No doubt at this juncture, the power structure noticed the silent exodus of Pandits, but instead of remedying the situation it encouraged and even coerced the Pandits to leave the Valley for what it called 'search for greener pastures'. The significant feature of their 'search for greener pastures' was that they never returned to resettle again in the Valley. But it was not so in the case of Muslim traders who established business houses in the various Indian cities and even abroad. These Muslims always returned to Kashmir for living there. The distinct behaviour of Pandits not returning to the Valley was the result of a deep sense of insecurity of all kinds developed in them in the valley, which compelled them to remain out of the Valley in spite of their desire to return.

16. Another important field in which the exclusion of the Pandits manifested itself in a ghastly manner was education. In the first instance, admission of the Pandits to professional and technical colleges was drastically curtailed irrespective of their merit. This policy was implemented ruthlessly even in the grant of admission to science faculty to undergraduate classes as well. The admissions in these institutions were made proportional to the community-wise population.
17. Pandits were forced to fight legal battles for admission, job promotions and suitable postings in the services in the State High Court and the Supreme Court of India. In almost all the cases they obtained favourable judgements from the courts. But the executive always adopted procrastinating methods to dilute the effect of these

judgements to the detriment of the Pandits. This caused a lot of resentment and frustration amongst the community. The community was, therefore, demoralized completely and, as such, it could not muster courage against injustice which drove them to adopt a cynical attitude of withdrawal that accelerated the process of their exclusion.

18. The Pandits took an initiative and appreciative role in the conversion of Muslim Conference into National Conference in 1934. Therefore, prior to the accession of the State to the Indian Union, the presence and participation of the Pandits in the National Conference was outstanding and visible. However, soon after the accession, Pandits at the lower cadre level in the National Conference in the villages and blocks were purged. At the district and state level their number was drastically reduced. The Pandit ideologists of the party were marginalized by entrusting to them judicial or executive assignments. Only a small fraction of Pandits in the party, who reduced themselves to the level of camp-followers, were taken into the political decision making organs of the party. This was bound to happen for the simple reason that the Pandits were always for full, unconditional and complete accession with the Union as was the case with the rest of the states. They despised any reservation or confusion in this regard which was deliberately nurtured in the minds of the Muslims of Kashmir by the National Conference, Plebiscite Front and other political structures. The reflection of this policy of reducing the political presence of the Pandits resulting in their political exclusion could be found in a glaring manner in the curtailment of number of the Pandit members of the Legislative Assembly from three to one from 1972 onwards. The Assembly constituencies, where Kashmiri Hindus could politically be represented, were restructured. Accordingly, the localities of Rainawari, HabbaKadal and Karan Nagar in Srinagar were fragmented in order to reduce them to an insignificant part of the contiguous Muslim dominated constituencies, thereby depriving the Hindus to elect representatives to the Assembly, on their own strength.

19. Close interaction and association between the Pandits and the Muslims in rural societies had got a severe jolt soon after the protection of tenancies even in respect of small holdings. The over-night conversion of the village have-nots into affluence on the one hand and reduction of economic status of the landed gentry on the other hand had its own peculiar social fall-out. Whereas the adverse effects of this fallout were not visible in the case of the Muslim landed gentry for the reason that they were easily absorbed in other gainful occupations, but that was not so in the case of the Pandit landed gentry. The pinch of deprivation was felt more acutely by the Pandits due to bias generated in the rural societies against them. Another important fallout of the land transfer to the tillers was that a syndrome of grabbing and high handedness got manifested in rural societies. Disputes over tenancy were raised even over the small land holdings by imposters to acquire permanent tenancy right on the basis of dubious claims. However, as a consequence of the Muslim majoritarian dominance such claims were usually accepted. In those areas of the Valley which had been overrun by the raiders, the situation became more acute as mutual trust between the two communities was at its lowest ebb. The estrangement that had been caused by the loot and identification of the Kashmiri Pandits for being targeted by the raiders was further enhanced by the grabbing syndrome encouraged by the land tenancy Act. The Muslim majoritarianism had its severe effects on the Pandits in the far-flung villages in the raid ravaged areas because they had experienced the failure of good-will for Kashmiri Pandits. They were therefore, forced to desert these villages. The lands of their shrines and cremation grounds in these deserted areas were grabbed as there was no one to question the same.

20. Prior to accession to India, a social system had developed in the Valley that used to strengthen the social bonds. People used to go for outing to enjoy the almond and jasmine blossoms. For one or two weeks the people used to flock to the gardens in the spring season. An atmosphere of spring fair and revelry used to pervade in and around these gardens where the people of the two communities used to mix and enjoy

to listen to the professional singers and watch dancers who used to exhibit their performance to earn popular applause. These common spring-festivals progressively vanished from the Valley within two or three years after 1947. A great bond for developing and preserving the socio-cultural relationship between the communities was snapped which nurtured exclusion to the detriment of the minority Pandit community. The doctrines of Jamait-Islami came to be accepted more and more with each passing day. Holding of fairs and revelry began to be treated as un-Islamic and had, therefore, to be shunned. This doctrine reached its climax when the Kashmiri cultural tradition owing its origin to the ancient Nilamat culture was openly condemned and declared Un-Islamic by Jamait-Islami. Muslims began to exhibit distinction in dress, behaviour, expression and idiom of thought. Indigenous Kashmiri mosque architecture that had grown over the last six centuries in the Valley since the advent of Islam was replaced by the middle-east architecture. This was done to express behavioural solidarity with the Islamic world. Muslim majoritarianism and dominance asserted itself by disrupting the smooth flow of traffic for offering prayers on Fridays on roads. Second half-day was un-officially observed as a holiday on every Friday. Incidents of cow-slaughter increased openly in rural areas which in particular was a rude shock to the remote areas. The Minority Pandit community was harassed by pelting stones or throwing crackers on their houses on any pretext ranging from winning or losing a match played between India and Pakistan to the desecration of a mosque in the middle east, or the death of the Pakistan President in air-crash. Pandit shrines and temples used to be targeted for desecration, loot and arson were resorted to on any pretext conceivable under the sky. Manifold increase in the number of mosques and vanishing of many Hindus shrines, temples and places of pilgrimage in the Valley is another reflection of the growth of Muslim fundamentalism in the valley. According to one estimate 40% of Kashmiri Pandit population was subjected to exodus between 1948-1989. This estimate does not include the exodus that occurred soon after October 1947 raid. To sum up, the exclusion of the Pandits from Kashmir society was both psychological and physical;

it was comprehensive and complete and was potent enough to force exodus long before the rise of gun-culture in the valley in 1989-90.

*Eruption of communal violence against
Kashmiri Pandits In 1967 and 1986*

21. The community was openly attacked in 1967 and 1986 in the Valley. In 1967, a minor Pandit girl of an extremely poor background was lured to agree to be married by her Muslim official colleague. When this news spread in Srinagar, the Hindus voiced protest against the marriage as it was contracted by a minor. The police after tracing out the girl did not hand her over to her widowed mother but placed her in the custody of Muslims. Though the issue involved was an inter-community marriage which occurred once in a blue moon, yet the Muslim fundamentalists eulogized this event not only by issuing provocative statements but they also collected funds for sending costly gifts to the girl and her paramour as a gesture to express their victory. Arrangements were also made in the mosques to offer special prayers for the so-called couple. This provoked severe anguish and protest from Pandits for the following reasons: -

- i) luring a poor minor girl into marriage;
- ii) the marriage manifested dominance of Muslimised administration under which there was harassment of the Pandit subordinates especially the females;
- iii) laceration of the social and cultural susceptibilities of the Pandits by the glorification of the successful onslaught of Muslim dominance which created tormenting apprehension in the Pandits regarding their self-respect and honour and
- iv) the partiality of the police.

Owing to the wrongful custody of the minor girl, the Kashmiri Pandits felt indignant, which compelled them to launch a non-violent agitation. The Pandit Satyagrahis were subjected to lathicharge and tear gas

shelling, for several days, by the police and hundreds of them were arrested without proper warrants during the darkness of nights. A reign of terror was let loose by the police on the Pandits, which also resulted in five casualties. A few more Pandits were mercilessly beaten by the Muslim mobs at secluded places in the Muslim majority areas of Srinagar which caused their death. The government was forced to appoint Shri Kohli, an IPS Officer, to make an enquiry into the police excesses against the Pandits. Despite the fact that an enquiry was conducted, the enquiry report was never made public till date.

22. In February 1986, bus loads of Muslim government employees came from Jammu to Kashmir. On reaching Qazigund, they raised a war cry of "Allah-ho-Akbar" and "Islam in danger" which roused religious passions of the faithfuls of the areas through which these buses passed. The result was that there was large scale desecration, loot and arson of the Hindu shrines and temples throughout the valley. The district-wise report of these vandalizing incidents in the valley was as under: -

Anantanag District ----- 28 places of worship were involved.

Srinagar District ----- 3 places of worship were involved.

Baramulla District ----- 4 places of worship were involved.

Kupwara District ----- 3 places of worship were involved

The peculiarity of these incidents was that the attack was simultaneously carried out throughout the south of Kashmir and even in the remotest areas of that region. Besides, the Pandits were generally terrorized throughout the Valley for two to three days and at some places their private property was also damaged or looted. No enquiry was held after 1986 violence. As a consequence of 1967 and 1986 gruesome events, large chunks of Kashmiri Pandit population were forced to leave the Valley. For the exclusion of the Pandits from Kashmir, varied and subtle methods were utilized as instruments in an effective manner with

success between 1947 and 1989. The detailed manner in which these instruments were put into operation has been briefly narrated in the foregoing paragraphs and these are listed here: -

- subversion of constitutional guarantees;
- bias and discrimination;
- intimidation;
- ridicule;
- neglect;
- economic squeeze;
- usurpation of temple-lands and cremation grounds.
- destruction, damage and desecration of religious places and shrines;
- communal violence;
- projection of Kashmiri Hindu population on the lower side which had adverse effects on the community.

Liquidation of Pandits in Kashmir in 1989-90.

23. Hitherto the exodus of the Pandits from the Valley (1947-89) was caused by a continuous process of exclusion and communal violence against them in 1967 and 1986. Year 1989-90 gave a new dimension to the process of exodus of the Pandits which was characterized by their liquidation from their land of origin, Kashmir, and this had the following features :-

- i) Gun was used as main weapon for killing.
- ii) Initially the killings were made on a selective basis for which a so-called justification was manipulated for eliminating an informer and so on.
- iii) With the passage of time no need was felt for offering the sham justification of killing the Pandits as it became the accepted rule for strengthening and continuance of the so-called fundamentalist-secessionist struggle against India. The elimination of the Pandits was considered a must in this process.
- iv) Brutal methods listed below were employed for killing Pandits:
Strangulation by using steel wires, lynching, branding with red hot irons, draining of blood before assassination, slicing, slaughter, breaking of limbs,

dragging to death, hanging, drowning alive, dismembering of body, impalement and burning alive.

No one from the terrorist outfits has explained why Mrs. Sarla, who had gone to her village school in Kupwara District to collect her salary, was put on a band-saw and cut into two pieces with one leg attached to each part, and similar other cases of atrocious crimes which included dancing around a dying Kashmiri Pandit boy in broad day light at a prominent place.

- v) Hatred and vengeance against the Pandits was prominently proclaimed and publicized on loudspeakers from mosques and in print media to create fear among the members of the community so as to force them out of the Valley enmasse . The sky rending slogans; “Yehan Kya Chalega- Nizame Mustafa”- only Nizami- Mustafa shall prevail here; “Assi Gachhi Kasheer Batau Rous Batnew Sann”-we want Kashmir along with women folk of the Pandits but not their males.
- vi) The Pandit community was subjected to brutal genocide.
- vii) Complete physical liquidation of the Pandit community was achieved when some were killed, the rest were forced to flee, leaving their property behind, for safety to other parts of the country. Ethnic cleansing of the Valley was total. Target of “Chaleve” and “Gleve” was complete (Run or die.).
- viii) There was definitely lethal combination of anti Kashmiri Pandit machination to achieve the goal of their exclusion and liquidation. All this made the community distant from and alien to the total society in Kashmir.

24. In a cunning manner, Pakistan succeeded in involving the political cadres of the Valley to take to gun culture through Jammu and Kashmir Liberation Front (JKLF). Firm assurances were extended to these political cadres by Pakistan that a separate Kashmiri Muslim identity would be respected, and help in every possible way would be made available for the establishment of an independent ‘Islamic Republic of

Jammu and Kashmir'. However, the JKLF was eliminated by the Pakistani strategists soon after it was successful in creating turmoil in the Valley. Supplies and support to JKLF was withdrawn and almost their entire active armed cadre was eliminated. The Hiz-bul-Mujahidin and other such groups as were for merger with Pakistan were patronized by them. But with the passage of time all these groups too were made subservient and put under the control of the guest-militant foreign mercenaries from 1993 onwards to prevent indigenous terrorists to be masters of the whole situation.

IRRELEVANCE

25. During the long years of exile, deliberate attempts have been set in motion to make Kashmir irrelevant for Kashmiri Pandits who had been liquidated after their exclusion. All the political structures have made significant contribution in this process of irrelevance operating within the State and at the Centre. Within Kashmir, property of the Pandits has been looted and destroyed. That which could not be destroyed has been usurped. Most of it has deliberately been converted into disputable property. Names of various prominent historical, social and cultural places have been changed to uphold the requirements of Muslim fundamentalists and secessionist philosophy. Though Kashmir has more than 5000-year old culture and written history of the period, the Muslim fundamentalists are destroying the archeological and historical evidences of the past to justify the secession.
26. In whatever little interaction that takes place between the exiled Pandits and the Kashmiri Muslims, the signals of the Pandits' irrelevance for Kashmir are loud and clear. Kashmiri Pandits are told: -
 - i. Kashmir is not now a conducive and convenient place for living purpose of Kashmiri Pandits.
 - ii. Muslim property brokers of Kashmir approach the Pandits with proposals for selling their property at throw-away prices. The Pandits are told that with the

passage of time the property would further depreciate and get devalued. The potent arguments of the Muslim brokers are based on the ground realities of the Valley. Most of the prime and commercially valuable properties of the Pandits have already been purchased by the Muslims through distress sale.

27. The migrant immovable property (Preservation, Protection and Restraint on Distress Sale Act, 1997) is irreparably delayed, as there is a half hearted effort which does not fulfil the declared objectives of the legislation. It needs no extra ordinary intelligence and understanding that the Kashmiri Pandits, in view of their economic bankruptcy and other reasons are compelled to go in for the sale of their immovable properties even at throw-away prices. The Act in question has no provision that can offer any alternative genuine succour to the seller to avoid undergoing distress sale. However, by the enactment of this Act by the elected Legislature of the State, it has been at least honest in confirming plunder, arson, usurpation and distress sale of the Kashmiri Pandits' property. A proposal was made to the National Human Rights Commission some time back for arranging grant of soft-term loans on concessional rates of interest to the displaced persons against their immovable properties to save them from selling the same at throw away prices under distress. The Government of Jammu and Kashmir and the Central Government did not take any meaning from such a salvaging proposal.

Return of the exiled Pandits to Kashmir.

28. The Kashmiri Pandits are the original inhabitants of the Valley. Their history of over past five thousand years has created profound spiritual, religious and cultural bonds between the Pandits and the Valley. All the Pandits' representative organizations have complete unanimity on this issue. Despite the overwhelming desire for early return to the Valley, the Pandits are justified to be hesitant to move in view of the various visible and invisible reasons. Adequate exposition of these visible factors has been already made in the report. A careful study of the invisible factors as are

operating need understanding and appreciation to save the future of the State and India from catastrophe. The experience of the last half a century of the community of living and facing various situations continuously have made it to be at the receiving end and has developed genuine apprehensions about future. The Pandits are acutely aware of their suffering throughout the last six centuries in general and the last fifty years of suffering in particular under the so-called democratic rule which subjected them to the trauma of exclusion, liquidation, characterized by genocide and mutual irrelevance which it is suffering these days. The Pandits do not want to take the risky decisions which will affect adversely their future generations. Without being fully satisfied that their progeny may not have to undergo the same fate again, they cannot take any firm decision. Also, they do not have any right to mortgage the future of their progeny.

29. The Pandits have the bitter experience of having lived in isolation in far off, dispersed and small habitations in the valley. These habitations were miles away from each other from the nearest road and institutions which could rescue them from frequent insecurity scenarios. Their living within the proximity of the line of actual control had an adverse fall-out. They were forced to live at the mercy of the majority Muslim community which has developed all traits of majoritarianism. They had to live and suffer the absence of social and cultural bonds. A psyche of "once bitten twice shy" is now pervading their mind set. They carry the memory of fear and shame which they were forced to experience by bearing with compromise and surrender. There are untold heart rending and revulsive stories of Kashmiri Pandits' woes and shame of living in dispersed and solitary conditions which cannot be ignored now. No Kashmiri Pandit who may have suffered trauma of rape and survived the same has ever related or put on record the event in view of the social sensitivity and sensibility.

30. The private interaction between the Pandits and Kashmiri Muslims brings out in bold relief the dominant and aggressive psyche of the Muslims and the withdrawal behaviour of the Kashmiri Pandits. Kashmiri Muslims have no remorse or regret for what has been done to the total Pandit community and for which they are responsible directly or indirectly. No Kashmiri Pandit is prepared to forget the role played by the Kashmiri Muslims in general and the secessionists and terrorists in particular in their liquidation from Kashmir in 1980-90. There is no record or evidence of any resistance having been offered by any Muslim in those fateful days of 1989-90 to the liquidation of Pandit community. To evade their positive response to the plight of the Kashmiri Pandits at that particular time, the Muslims would offer the plea of their helplessness. Muslim top leaders had left the Valley, while their lower cadres were competing with one another, offering unqualified apologies through the paid press advertisements for having associated with the so-called 'mainstream political parties'. Some of their lower cadres and district leaders openly joined the terrorist ranks. The Kashmiri Hindus are fully aware of the mental confusion existing in the mind of the average Muslim on account of the mirage of secession or autonomy being shown to them by their leadership.
31. The Kashmiri Pandits have genuine reasons to lose faith in the effectiveness, usefulness and impartiality of the administrative set-up. They have very sad and revulsive experience of the procrastination and wayward attitude of the executive wing of the Government to sabotage the favourable judgments obtained by the Pandits in several matters in respect of a long list of cases wherein complaints of denial of fundamental rights were made. The Pandits feel helpless and isolated by the suffocating atmosphere which denied them freedom of speech, expression, and freedom from fear in practising their faith fully. There are genuine apprehensions in the minds of the Kashmiri Pandits, whereas the Muslim mind is full of hope and promise. The Muslims are told that autonomy is round the corner which is supposed to bring them prosperity and freedom, and the Pandits see in it their extinction with

the unbridled and established machinations in the arrangement of every sphere of life. They visualize that autonomy is an effort to carve a Muslim state of Jammu and Kashmir within the Indian territory, a step to facilitate the establishment of Nizami-Mustafa, to replace the secular democracy. This is the particular message from the history of events, which was meant to lay tremendous strain on the relations between the State and the Centre. This situation will get more acute and bring it to a breaking point beyond recovery.

32. The interim report of the officers' sub-committee released and approved by the Government of Jammu and Kashmir is reflective of the Government's concept regarding the return of the Kashmiri Pandits to the Valley. Its main features are: -
- i. Outright rejection of the visible and invisible fears and apprehensions of the Pandits is a testimony to the fact that the State government looks to its own convenience and not to the real essentials of the problem.
 - ii. Coercing and placing responsibility on the Pandits to seek the goodwill of the majority community for initiating a social dialogue as the only mechanism for their survival in the Valley.
 - iii. Planning the rehabilitation of the Pandits by stages by shifting them from camps set up outside the Valley to within the Valley and therefrom again rehabilitating them in their original homes on some future indeterminate date.
 - iv. Treating the rehabilitation of the Pandits as if their dislocation from their homes was caused by a natural calamity, war or for meeting the development plan of rehabilitation requirements of the area.

33. The Pandits see a sinister design in the government plan of rehabilitation as under:-
- i. To turn them into nomads which is conceived to cause a hindrance in their progress, to wipe out their culture, and place a permanent question mark on their survival.
 - ii. To bring them within the targeted reach of the terrorists and fundamentalists which will increase the physical confrontation, bloodshed and will subject them to a perpetual sense of insecurity which in its turn is bound to affect their wholesome growth and development.
 - iii. Whatever little freedom they have presently will be restricted by confining them to camps within the Valley which will be no better than concentration camps. The exposure of truth about the total problem faced by them is bound to get buried under the multi-cornered stress and strain.
 - iv. The education of their children will suffer.
 - v. They will be rendered immobile.
 - vi. Their voice will be permanently stifled and the freedom of expression as a boon will get converted into a bane.
 - vii. The community will be further fragmented and dispersed as the plan does not have the provisions for return of the whole Community which has been subjected to forced exodus since 1947. The funds for the project of rehabilitation are demanded to the tune of Rupees twenty eight hundred crores. The plan envisages utilization of funds

by the Government machinery without seeking any cooperation or participation from the community. The community is apprehensive about the proper and the purpose-orientated utilization of the demanded funds when the stipulated package for the return of the Pandits stands already rejected by them. Then there are apprehensions on account of institutionalized corruption and diversion of funds.

- viii. The plan of return is such that divorces the community from the field of vocational pursuits. The need for establishment of the concentration camps confirms and confesses that the atmosphere for the acceptance of the community is hostile. This atmosphere is bound to force the community into surrender and compromise to buy peace from the dominant Muslim majoritarianism.

The settlement of the Pandits in the valley cannot be achieved through this plan. It may, however, for a limited period provide the Government a propaganda platform to falsely proclaim restoration of normalcy and return of sham secularism in the Valley. If a negligible fraction of the Pandits gets caught in this vicious plan of rehabilitation through allurements of class IV jobs in the Government, bribes or any other nefarious or coercive acts, the Pandits shall be soon dismayed and come out again. During the period of their dream-stay in the so-called camps of the Valley, they will be left for searching purchasers of their left-out properties. The execution of the rehabilitation plan will further reduce the credibility of the government and also of the State of India. The expenditure that may be incurred on this unacceptable plan will go waste.

34. What the Kashmiri Pandits want for ensuring their return to their land of origin is that a comprehensive plan needs to be evolved in consultation with the recognized representative organizations which should also involve the State and the Centre

Government representatives. The plan should have an inbuilt mechanism for retention of the community in the Valley for all times to come. The return and retention of the Pandit community in the Valley need not be evoked and undertaken on **grounds of compassion**. The basic requirement is the recognition of the claim of the Pandits in Kashmir as their homeland, for they belong to Kashmir. The utility of retention of the Pandits in the sensitive Jammu and Kashmir State particularly the Valley has to be examined, evaluated and appreciated as a basic factor to establish a civilized political ethos which has met a massive collapse. The existence and participation of the Pandits in the political structures professing secular and democratic principles depend on the retention of the Pandits in Kashmir. The Kashmiri Pandits are not craving for accommodation in the Valley, but they want resettlement in the Valley which is to be viewed and appreciated on the basis of their utility in the context of Kashmir's contiguity with the theocratic State of Pakistan, civil war ravaged Afghanistan, communist China including Tibet and the Central Asian republics and the understandable interference of the western powers in the geographical zone. All these contiguous States have conflicting national interests and conflicting political ideologies.

35. The total secular fabric of the country becomes vulnerable if the Kashmiri Pandits are not retained on the basis of a comprehensive plan in the absence of which exodus is bound to repeat time and again. The retention of Kashmiri Pandits is important in the international scenario which does not accept ethnic cleansing and recognizes the rights of the aborigines and original inhabitants on their lands.

CONCERN-IMMEDIATE AND BEYOND

1) Recommendations on return.

The conditions which prevailed in the State for the past fifty years have led to the creation of the present complex situation. The study of the history of this period brings out various factors which operated simultaneously and in tandem as will always do so in the same spirit and direction. It exposed the clear and unparalleled example of exclusion and liquidation of the Kashmiri Pandits that brought to the fore the extraordinary situation which needs extra ordinary measure to correct it. In view of that position, the plan and programme of return shall have to be comprehensive enough to eliminate chances of eruption of the situation which arose in 1947, and has been continuing ever since. It needs no emphasis that the plan shall have to be fool-proof against the possibility of repetition of the catastrophic situation of the past. Keeping this in view the salient features of the plan should be: -

- i) The Kashmiri Pandits cannot live in dispersed habitations, which has led to their sense of isolation, insecurity, lack of potential to practise their faith openly without any constraint, denial of enjoyment of political rights and political participation and conservation of their culture. Therefore, their resettlement should bring about an institutional consolidation in a comparatively safer region away from the proximity to the border.
- ii) The Kashmiri Pandit community has suffered a lot by the machinations which eroded the constitutional guarantees and fundamental rights as the basic conditions of living a full life. Therefore, there is need to evolve a mechanism which makes these provisions of the Constitution functional in an effective form. It should not have any scope for procrastination, evasion, subversion of constitutional guarantees, limit and infringement upon the judicial process and review at the highest level.
- iii) There is need to evolve an economic structure as a part of the total resettlement plan which will compensate fully the loss of property of the Kashmiri Pandits already suffered and in consequence of the finalized resettlement. It should have the provisions and capacity to establish

permanent resources of income and employment, opportunities for education etc. that will ensure the return and retention of the total community.

- iv) The plan should be comparatively advantageous to prompt the decision of the whole community to live in Kashmir forever. The plan should have scope and ingredients in it to attract and absorb those members of the community who at various points of time in the past were forced to leave the State. The only plan of return of the community, projected after receiving massive approval of the community, released through the Margdarshan Resolution 1991 listed the followed demand: -

- a) The establishment of homeland for the Kashmiri Hindus in the Kashmir valley, comprising the regions of the valley to the east and north of the Vitasta (Jhelum);
- b) That the Constitution of India be made applicable in letter and spirit in the homeland in order to ensure the right to life, liberty, freedom, of expression, faith and equality.
- c) That the homeland be placed under the Central administration with the Union territory status so that it evolves its own economic and political infrastructure;
- d) That all the seven lakh Kashmiri Hindus, who include those who were driven out of Kashmir in the past and yearn to return to their homeland, and those who were forced to leave on account of the terrorist violence in Kashmir, be settled in the homeland on an equitable basis with dignity and honour.

2) Recommendations on confidence building measures

- i. Immediate establishment of an institution to work on the problems, which are affecting the day to day life of the Kashmiri Hindus. The institution should have members drawn from the Government of the State and the Government of India and the representatives of the recognized Kashmiri Pandit

- organizations. The terms of reference for this institution should enable it to deal with the day-to-day problems of the Pandits living in exile in a wholesome manner. The institution will arrange redressal of the community members' problems and grievances. The institution should have sufficient powers to exercise its influence to enable solutions of the problems of the members of the community. There should be a sincere commitment from the Government to implement the recommendations of this institution.
- ii) Shaken confidence of the community can be restored by attending to the immediate manifold problems of the members of the community living in camps and non-camps areas.
 - iii) Doubling of the present meagre cash relief and linking it with the cost of living index with effect from 1990 consistent with effecting improvement in the standard of living of the persons involved.
 - iv) Immediate provisions of proper roofed accommodation of those displaced families who are still living in tents and in halls or corridors of various buildings in which the displaced families have been partitioned by curtains to earmark separate living for each family.
 - v) Accommodation problems to be tackled in an effective manner to improve conditions of living in camps vis-a-vis the social requirements of the family. Families living in rented accommodations be paid rent allowance @ Rs.1000/-per month or reasonable compensation.
 - vi) Finalization of ex-gratia relief cases of the fire sufferers, quickly, in a time-bound framework and also ensuring making of payments to them within a fixed time-schedule. Similar action has to be taken for the settlement of the pending insurance claims.
 - vii) An amount of rupees one lakh as incentive in favour of all the displaced Kashmiri Hindu traders, agriculturists, orchardists and other self-employed professionals, besides interest free loan of Rs. 1.00 lakh repayable in seventy two easy instalments be sanctioned forthwith for each establishment.

- viii) The J&K Government order No.362-GDA dated 29-4-1992 in regard to the promotions of the employees who have been displaced from Kashmir valley be withdrawn forthwith. Promotions be effected without insistence on experience, submission of research papers or conduct of research etc. The allowances payable to the State Government employees be also paid to the displaced Pandit employees of the Government along with arrears.
- ix) There has been no visible employment of the Kashmiri Pandits in the State Government since 1990. A special recruitment drive be launched to provide employment to the youth so that at least the level of the employment as was in 1990 is maintained. Incidentally, it will link the young generations with the State and its structures.
- x) An autonomous educational structure be established forthwith for the displaced Hindu students. The displaced Hindu students be compensated for the loss of academic years suffered by them due to displacement and delay in the conduct of examinations and announcement of results caused by the Kashmir University since 1990.

The genesis of events annunciated in the paper relevant to the Pandits hailing from Kashmir covers last half century of their suffering for the cause of preservice of democracy, pluralistic Indian society, peace and progress which are dear to this community. The suffering and humiliations that have been and are being borne by this community with patience and forbearance for the preservice of the unity of India cannot be ignored, keeping in view the sovereignty of the Indian State. The suggestions made for their settlement in the valley and the implementation of the same including confidence building measures, to give a sense of belonging to these beleaguered people, listed in this paper have been made after giving full weightage to these over-riding considerations.

3) **Recommendations- General.**

Finally we remind the nation that the prevailing security scenario in Jammu and Kashmir is a symptom of a deep-rooted disease, namely the eastward thrust of the Pan-Islamism. The civil-war like situation going on in the State is deliberately under-played

as a law and order problem which we fear may adversely affect the long-term national security. In 1949, the country accepted the cease-fire in the State and in consequence thereof the defacto occupation of the State's territory on the other-side of the cease-fire-line was accepted. Thereafter, Pakistan in an outright manner merged Gilgat and the adjoining area into its territory and even renamed the same as Northern Areas. They also handed over another 5,180 sq.kms of the State to China. Two wars were waged on India by Pakistan in 1965 and 1971. In 1989-90, the Kashmir Valley was ethnically cleansed through indigenous terrorism which delivered a severe blow to the Indian secular and democratic set-up.

Soon after the massive exodus of our community in 1989-90, we had cautioned the nation and the Government of India about the most probable expansion of the organized insurgency on the southern side of the Pirpanchal range in the first place followed by its spread across the river Chinab. Unfortunately, no notice was taken of the developing danger. At that time the caution served was discussed as an over reaction of the Kashmiri Pandits. What we had feared came to pass. The Pirpanchal range involving Doda district was crossed in 1992-93 where it has taken roots. In 1996 terrorism and insurgency crossed the Chinab, engulfing the areas of Gool- Gulabgarh, Arnas of Udhampur district and the hilly regions of Rajouri and Poonch districts as well. The Non-Muslim population from the rural and far-flung places of these areas has started taking refuge in the towns. The thrust is now on bringing the area lying between the Chinab and the Ravi rivers under the operation for which infrastructure has been well laid. This is a part of their long-term strategy. The need of the hour, therefore, is to take serious view of the situation and decide whether the methods of dealing with the problem are adequate and consistent with the national security requirements. Perhaps, the most determined extra-ordinary measures are required to combat the dangerous onward consequences of this thrust. Again, we are constrained to caution the nation not to take lightly the developing security scenario in the 'Doab' (area between two rivers Chinab and Ravi) where dumps of modern weaponry are feared being pushed in and even utilized for the execution of the grand design of involving the main heartland of India. We eagerly await the response of the nation for the preservation of its cultural and territorial existence, which is bound to be otherwise in peril.

* * *

KASHMIRI HINDU DECLARATION

(Panun Kashmir Movement-PKM, Zonal Convention, Chandigarh)

28th September-1997

On the occasion of completion of the fiftieth year of independence of our great country India that is Bharat:-

1) We Salute:-

The freedom fighters and martyrs who fought for achieving the noble goal of freedom, and we also pay our homage to those valiant sons of our country who sacrificed their lives over the years for preserving the unity and integrity of the country;

2) We Congratulate:-

The people of great Indian nation for making serious efforts for building democratic institutions and society with self-reliant economy;

3) We Remind :-

The people of great Indian nation that the entire Kashmiri Pandit community which is inseparably a part of the nation has been uprooted and forced out from its native land and whose members have been living as refugees in their own country for the last more than eight years. The process of their exclusion from their native land was initiated by the power structures soon after the "responsible government" took over in the State in 1947. At present the members of the community, not only stand dispossessed of their immovable and movable property, but their cultural symbols, historical monuments, and even the nomenclature of their towns, villages and mohallas, mountains, rivers, roads etc are being changed to dispossess them of five thousand years of historical, cultural and religious heritage of their native land-Kashmir. A dubious game has been set in motion by adopting various means to ensure cessation of the scared relationship of the community with their land of origin. Kashmiri Pandits belong to Kashmir. They will always endeavour to return to their land. They would never countenance to live in their land of origin as second class citizens at the mercy or the goodwill of the majority. For, during the long years from 1947-89 they tried their best to make co-existence possible. But the experiment failed. The result has been disastrous for the community which is quite visible. They can now no more afford to repeat history. It has to be

ensured by them that after their return, their progeny does not undergo the same trauma which the present generation is suffering. Let no one be in doubt about it. The community expects the entire freedom loving Indian nation and the enlightened world community too to stand by the just struggle of the Kashmiri Pandits for their survival. The overt and covert policies followed by the successive Governments and other power structures right from 1947 turned the community from a minority into an "insignificant minority". The members of the community were economically squeezed and socially excluded. They were subjected to communal violence in 1967 and 1986 and finally liquidated from the Valley at the point of gun in 1989-90. Over the last half a century, the members of the community have been treated as a class that has been depressed and not allowed to grow and enjoy fruits of freedom and has always been subjected to majoritarianism and Muslim precedence in every field. The genocide and ethnic cleansing of the community cannot be wished away by naming it "migration". Nor can a permanent resettlement of the community back in Kashmir be effected through creation of patch-work settlements in Kashmir and grants of doles without reversing the causes of the forced exodus. The good-will of the majority community for the Hindu minority has failed at several crucial points of history since 1931. It cannot be treated as a guarantor for survival of the community in Kashmir. The community stands ostracised even from being associated in the decision making process that is making far reaching and adverse effects on it. No decisions taken, considered howsoever good or beneficial, can be acceptable to a class of people without their consent and consultation. The one year rule of the National Conference Government in J&K State is a glaring example in this context.

4) We, Therefore, Demand:

- a) the immediate reversal of policies of economic squeeze, exclusion and liquidation of the community;
- b) association and consultation of the community members in the decision taking process that is affecting the community interests. For achieving this objective, a permanent Board be constituted headed by a Supreme Court Judge with two representatives, one each from the governments (Central and

State) and two from the community. The community representatives should be nominated by the recognized frontline KP forums. The Government and the community members will work on the Board for two years, whereas the tenure of its Chairman shall be for four years. The Board shall have a permanent secretariat. The Board shall work as the watch-dog of the community's interests while in exile. It will examine and make recommendations to the Governments suo-moto as well as on the applications and complaints that may be submitted to it by the community members. In such a case where the Government is unable to accept the recommendations of the Board, the government shall publicly justify the rejection of the recommendations of the Board by recording reasons for doing so.

5) Finally, We Declare;

That the permanent solution of the Kashmiri Pandit problem lies in the creation of the Union Territory for the resettlement of the seven lakh Kashmiri Hindus in the Kashmir Valley on the north and east of river Vitasta (Jehlum) where the Indian Constitution shall be applicable both in letter and spirit and shall have its free flow.

“VANDE- MATRAM”

**UNITED STATES SENATE
WASHINGTON DC 20510-4104**

**TIM JOHNSON
SOUTH DAKOTA**

WASHINGTON OFFICE:

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**Mr. Atal Behari Vajpayee
Prime Minister of India
New Delhi, India**

Dear Premier Vajpayee,

I am writing to express my concern over the plight of the community of Kashmiri Pandits. This community, of the original inhabitants of Kashmir, has been languishing in temporary shelters for a decade.

I am told by my friend, constituent and United Nations consultant, Dr. Jagan Koul, that the state of homelessness and abject poverty has imposed extremely harsh conditions upon the Kashmiri Pandits, and that the lack of proper shelter, food nutrition, medical attention, sanitation, drinking water and clothing have further aggravated their situation. I am also told that thousands have died due to these conditions.

Dr. Kaul tells me that numerous States and Union Territories have already been created in India, and under your own BJP government, three additional states have been created within the Republic. Could a state not be created in India for the Kashmiri Pandits?

I am hopeful that, in view of the urgency of the matter and the critical juncture this community has reached, your government will give priority treatment to the task of resetting the Pandits in a newly created autonomous region.

Thank you, Mr. Prime Minister, for your time and consideration.

Sincerely,

Tim Johnson
U.S. Senator
TPJ/d

* * * * *

KASHMIRI PANDIT REPRESENTATIVE ASSEMBLY

(Session: 13 July, 2000)

Jammu –India

Report,

Consequent upon a joint meeting of the senior functionaries of the Panun Kashmir Movement (PKM) and All State Kashmiri Pandit Conference (ASKPC) over the issue of autonomy, on 19th June, 2000 a five-member committee was constituted to suggest measures to evolve a united response to the socio-political scenario, in particular context of the autonomy demand, on behalf of the Kashmiri Pandit Community. The Committee in its deliberations on 26th June, 2000 made recommendations that a joint Kashmiri Pandit Representative Assembly be called in the next month to deliberate over debate the issues of the Autonomy Report and the resolution passed by the J&K Legislative Assembly and finalise a formal response. Accordingly, Shri A.N.Vaishnavi was requested to initiate an exercise to invite the participants to the Assembly. Shri Ashwani. Kumar Chrungoo was requested to coordinate the affairs leading to a successful completion of the programme. Shri Virendra Koul was assigned the responsibility of making the arrangements for the programme.

Sh. Vaishnavi constituted a sub-committee to finalise the list of all permanent social, political and cultural activists in the community who could be invited to participate as genuine representatives to the Assembly. A list of 100 activists was drawn and the invitations were circulated. Simultaneously, a process of discussion, dialogue and persuasion was initiated to rope in all possible shades of opinion in the community in the programme. The 13th of July was deliberately selected as the date for the programme in memory of the attempt at the ethnic cleansing of the minorities in the Valley in 1931.

The initiative was overwhelmingly welcomed 'by the community and thus' the Kashmiri Pandit Representative Assembly met at Hotel Mansar, Jammu on July 13th, 2000 (Thursday) at 1: 00 P.M.

The proceedings of the Assembly began after Shri Bansi Lal Koul was nominated to be the pro-tem Chairman of the Assembly. Shri Koul accepted the request and called upon the members of the Assembly to make nominations for the post of Chairman of the Assembly.

Accordingly, the name of Shri A.N. Vaishnavi was proposed by Shri Ashwani. Kr. Chrungoo, President(PKM) and was seconded by Shri Triloki Nath Bhat (AIKS) and Shrimati Kiran Kalla (ASKPC). After ascertaining that no other name was proposed, Shri Koul declared Shri A.N. Vaishnavi as having been elected Chairman of the Kashmiri Pandit Representative Assembly (KPRA). Shri Koul requested Shri Vaishnavi to occupy the Chair of the Assembly which he did and the members gave him a thunderous applause.

In his preliminary observations, after taking up the responsibility of the Chairman, KPRA, Shri Vaishnavi stated that almost all the representative Pandit organizations had rejected the State Autonomy Committee Report along with the Resolution passed thereon by the State Legislature. Before and after the passing of the resolution on autonomy by the State Legislature, demands had been raised for the trifurcation of the State. The Kashmiri Pandits had been ignored in the autonomy reports and the proposed trifurcation of the State. The Pandits, he added, had a long history of facing persecution and making sacrifices to preserve their identity, religion and culture both when they were within Kashmir and now when they were leading a refugee life in exile. Shri A.N. Vaishnavi said that they were leading a refugee life in exile. Delay in making appropriate response to the autonomy and confused reaction of the Government of India to the demand did embolden the fissiparous forces to raise similar demands from various corners of the country. He felt that it was his duty to bring together the representatives of the people, who had good of the community at their heart, in the KPRA to express views on autonomy and issues emerging out of it. The deliberations of the KPRA had a special significance especially in the face of the fact that the Pandits were not represented at all in the State Legislature or the Parliament despite the fact that they were the aborigines of Kashmir and an important minority as well. The members of the KPRA were free to express themselves in a disciplined and dignified manner on the issues which were being placed before them for their consideration.

The Chairman then nominated S/ Shri Hira Lal Bhat and Sanjay Raina as Secretaries of the KPRA and S/Shri Upendra Koul and Bushan Lal as Assistant Secretaries to assist him in running the house.

A pledge was jointly administered to all the members of the KPRA by the Chairman and they were also requested to sign the pledge form which had already been supplied to them.

On being asked by the Chairman, Shri S.Krishan Koul read the draft resolution, copies of which had already been circulated to the members of the Assembly.

Points made by various speakers

1. **Shri O.N.Trisal(AKSPC):** "Kashmiri Pandits are facing multi-dimensional problems to which reference has been made in the resolution. Autonomy is a move which will make the State a breeding ground for nurturing foreign interests in this sensitive Muslim population dominated border State of India. The regional autonomy is based on famous 'Dixon plan' which envisages the creation of 'Greater Kashmir'. The Kashmiri Pandits have to be part of any future discussions on the future set-up of the State. There is urgent need to evolve unity of purpose to achieve the goal".
2. **Dr. K.L.Chowdhary(PK):** "The vision of discussion and debate is enthusing. The present KPRA is a temporary phase. There is need to evolve a mechanism which will give legitimacy and permanence to this Assembly. We are happy that the Kashmiri Pandits have rejected the return formula of the Government. The trifurcation of the State will turn the community into persona non-grata. Therefore, we have to strive Sub-regional dispensation call for dividing Kashmir into two parts i.e., one for Kashmiri Pandits where there is a free flow of the Indian Constitution and the other for those who want a different dispensation. We should not feel shy of asking for political power for our community; for what has been done to us is unparalleled in history and justifies our demand".
3. **Shri Sunil Hali(Adv.):** "During discussion on Margdarshan resolution 1991, I got an opportunity to speak on this resolution. At that time I had observed that Kashmiri Muslims had refused to co-exist and therefore homeland demand was relevant for the community. The organizing of KPRA itself shows the importance of the Homeland demand that we have an inalienable right to live in Kashmir on our own terms. There

is need to be together and we must do so. Individualism has to give way to collectivism. The resolution under consideration contains a broader vision of future”.

4. **Shri Bansi Lal Thussu (Purkhoo camp):** “The calling of KPRA is a good attempt for unification of the community, which may, however, take time to show its results. The Kashmiri Pandits have played a major role in educating the country about the inherent dangers of autonomy”.
5. **Shri Ajay Bharti (Delhi):** “It is a commendable effort to call the Kashmiri Pandit Representative Assembly. However, there is scope for wider participation in it. In future we should evolve a mechanism for election of the members. Kashmiri Pandits need to develop support structures. Pandits have to oppose autonomy to prevent secession of Kashmir from India”.
6. **Shri Ashok Pandit (Bombay):** “By highlighting their problems, the Kashmiri Pandits have been able to make an impact all over the world. The Indian Government has exhibited timidity by declaring that it is prepared to talk to the gun-wielders. The Indian media has not been fair to the Kashmiri Pandits in projecting their problems in a proper perspective. All the representative organizations have done commendable work during the last few years”.
7. **Shri J.N. Sapru (AIKPC):** “The displaced Pandits have no home and no rehabilitation. In such a situation autonomy is not our concern. However, this organization is not averse to return to Kashmir but the question is how and when”.
8. **Shri O.N. Pandita (PKM):** “The purpose of constituting KPRA was explained and it was also suggested that committee of the heads of the organizations participating in this Assembly along with some intellectuals be set up who would be asked to build up the community response to various emerging problems. The Homeland response had been put forward in the context of exclusion, genocide and ethnic cleansing of the Pandits from Kashmir. The autonomy shall put a seal on the rejection of the return and resettlement of the Pandits in Kashmir. There is need for consolidation of the community resources to face this onslaught”.

9. **Shri G.K. Mujoo :** The Assembly was congratulated for providing an occasion for giving an opportunity to various representative organizations of the Pandits to come together on a common platform. He did not favour fresh restructuring of the State but wanted the resolution to be amended to provide constitution of the 'Assembly in exile'.
10. **Dr. M.K. Raina :** He hailed convening of the KPRA and stressed the need for dealing with the problems of the community in an unified manner at the organizational level. The draft resolution was based on the concept of Homeland.
11. **Shrimati Kiran Kalla:** Congratulated convening of KPRA and extended her full support.
12. **Dr. Agnishekhar:** He observed that Muslims were born with a religious mission of expanding throughout the world by occupying fresh areas and by increasing the number of their followers. On the other hand, he felt that the Hindus in general and the Kashmiri Pandits in particular were philosophers. They differed with one another. 'We should accept this about our behavior and therefore the unity within the community had to be purposive which we should strive to achieve. The right of Kashmiri Pandits to enjoy the benefit of free-flow of Indian Constitution within Kashmir in a specified area, he said, was a political weapon in the hands of its members which should be utilized. It was the appropriate response to "Autonomy" and "Azadi" which was one and the same thing for the community. Grant of "minority status", he added, was no solution to our problems. Those who advocated it should understand that there was need for a permanent solution to our problem of displacement'.
13. **Shri Ashwani Kumar Chrungoo:** "The idea of giving collective response to our aspirations through KPRA should not be termed as a seedling for creation of a new outfit. I would suggest that KPRA should hold this session to convey the message that we are one on all the vital issues facing the community. The KPRA should not be adjourned sine die but it should be dissolved. It is the time to face the situation boldly and correct our past mistakes. The first draft declaration adopted by the Kashmiri

Pandits, while in exile, made around this very date a decade back contained the seeds of our political vision. At that time, the political agenda was the declaration to return and live in Kashmir. We have to live there with a political mission. For living in Kashmir we have to seek the free flow of Indian Constitution in a carved out territory to enable us to survive as a community, move ahead and ask for a separate state as our Homeland within Kashmir Valley. By seeking such a dispensation we will not allow India to die or diminish in Kashmir. That is what I also advocated in the Parliamentary Standing Committee meeting in Jammu recently. The creation of the Assembly of Pandits is a part of our political struggle to assert our rights”.

14. **Shri H.L.Chatta (ASKPC):** “ We are asking for political division of the present J&K State into four parts instead of three. Our State should be separate and we will fight to achieve it”. He strongly advocated the idea of creation of a state for the Kashmiri Pandits.
15. **Shri R.K.Raina (ASKPC):** He supported the creation of a separate state for Pandits in Kashmir.
16. **Shri Chuni Lal (Udhampur) :** “I will spread the message of this Assembly to my comrades in Udhampur. This Assembly is a welcome step”.
17. **Shri T.N. Bhat (AIKS):** He also strongly supported the creation of a separate state for Pandits in Kashmir.
18. **Shri Pyare Lal (Muthi) :** He felt happy to understand that the whole leadership had agreed on one agenda, one objective and one goal.
19. **Shri Basant Kumar :** He highlighted the problems of the youth in exile.
20. **Shri H.N. Bindroo :** He gave a detailed account of the problems being faced by the community and advocated a separate state for Kashmiri Pandits.

Conclusion:-

The Chairman, Shri Vaishnavi in his concluding remarks supported the proposal for the creation of a separate state for the Kashmiri Pandits in Kashmir. At this point, the

resolution with the necessary amendments was put to vote. It was passed unanimously. The audience was again asked to raise the hands or say 'No', if anybody would like to oppose it. The audience in turn cried 'Yes'. Thereafter, the Chairman declared the resolution having been adopted and passed by the KPRA (at 6:30 P.M.) amidst cheers from the audience. With this the Chairman declared the session closed and dissolved the Kashmiri Pandit Representative Assembly.

* * *

Resolution Follows

KASHMIRI PANDIT REPRESENTATIVE ASSEMBLY
(Session-July 13th, 2000)
Jammu-India

RESOLUTION

I. Exclusion, Liquidation and Ethnic Cleansing of Kashmiri Pandits in Kashmir

Kashmiri Pandits are the aborigines of Kashmir. After the political power in the Valley passed into the hands of the Muslim rulers about seven hundred years back, the persecution against the Pandit community started. But those were medieval times when the administration was despotic and not responsible to the people. Even in the modern times and after independence of India the dismal fate of the Pandits has not changed.

With the accession of Jammu and Kashmir to India in 1947, the local leadership of Kashmir and the leaders of independent India promised democracy, liberty, equality, fraternity, protection of fundamental rights, co-existence and modernisation. Alas! these promises were soon cunningly subverted in a subtle manner by the powerful political structures of the Valley. A campaign of bias, hatred, ridicule, discrimination, intimidation, procrastination, economic squeeze, encroachment on the community's public lands, cremation grounds and desecration of shrines/temples was launched against the community. Systematically, the Pandits were excluded from all walks of life. Kashmiri Muslim majoritarianism and precedence in all spheres of social, political and economic activity was asserted forcefully. The Pandits were also subjected to communal violence in 1967 and 1986. All these negative activities against the community forced the Pandits to leave the Valley in a slow and steady manner from time to time. The community was reduced from the status of a sizeable minority to the remnants of a destroyed minority. By these acts, the community was turned into a highly insecure and vulnerable position, well before 1989.

The spiritual and cultural attachment to the land of their origin continued to console the Pandits to live on in Kashmir despite betrayal, apartheid, multi-dimensional hostility and invidious attitude of the powerful political structures of Kashmir towards them. The Pandits

continued to put up with the humiliations and yet lived on in the Valley. But that was also not meeting the set goals of powers within the Kashmir Valley. The community was subjected to genocide by the Kashmiri Islamic terrorists in 1989-90. The goal of ethnic cleansing of the Kashmiri Pandits was achieved. Driving out of the Kashmiri Pandit community was completed as first half of the target by the Kashmiri Islamic terrorists, leaving the other half (relating to the eliminating chance of return of Pandits to the Valley) for others to complete. During the decade of exile, the Pandits have been delinked from the properties in Kashmir and their services within the State. The process of delinking Pandits from Kashmir got accelerated since October, 1996.

II. Political and Constitutional Status of Autonomy Resolution.

Accession of Jammu and Kashmir with Union of India that took place in 1947 is complete and irrevocable in all respects in the same style and manner in which the Instrument of accession was signed by the States other than the State of Jammu and Kashmir. However, the forces of destabilization within the state treated the accession as “conditional” (1947-53), “provisional (1953-75) and “limited” (1975-2000). These forces always ignored the realities of the historical and legal processes which cover the framing and adoption of the state constitution by the State Constituent Assembly and extension and adoption of the provisions of the Indian Constitution over the State at the request of J&K Govt. and legislature between 1953-75.

In 1994 the autonomy resolution was adopted by the National Conference despite the fact that the issue had been finally settled between late Sheikh Mohd. Abdullah and late Smt. Indira Gandhi, Prime Minister of India in 1975. The issue of autonomy was revived with a view to playing on the religious sentiments of the majority community to discredit India that was projected as “usurper” of the rights of Kashmiris (read National Conference). After the National Conference came to power in 1996, two committees were constituted by the State Government- one for reporting on greater autonomy for the State and the other for the grant of regional autonomy. The members of both these Committees were drawn from the ruling party only. Though various parties, including the representative organizations of the

Pandits, submitted their view points to these two Committees yet their views have been ignored without assigning any reasons. These two reports are only party documents and not the documents of the Government in the real sense.

The greater autonomy report proposes to roll back history, agreements and the constitution relating to the Union and the J&K State relationship to pre-1953 status, not for increasing the prosperity of the people of the State; but:-

“There is another kind of ego, you need to satisfy the aspiration of your head and heart. It is the question of our ‘izzat and abroo’ and not something new that we are asking.”

-Chief Minister of Jammu and Kashmir

in an interview to Hindustan Times (June 25, 2000).

Unfortunately, ‘izzat and abroo’ of the Pandits was put at stake in Kashmir on several occasions.

The present two-third majority of Jammu and Kashmir Legislature supporting the National Conference Government has the backing of the 32% of the total voters. Out of the eligible voters, 52% had voted in the assembly poll in 1996. About 68% voters (20% voted against the autonomy and 48% did not participate in the election) are not in favour of autonomy. The popularity graph of the present rulers further dipped down in parliamentary elections of 1999. Autonomy is not a popular demand. Ultimately, it is the economic well-being, good and corruption-free governance and not the emotive slogan of autonomy which people want. The greater autonomy will perpetuate oligarchical, tyrannical rule in the State. The greater autonomy visualizes pre-1953 style of governance and constitution. The powers of the Maharaja were exercised by the Council of Ministers and the administration was made to function by Ordinance and Decree. People had no fundamental and human rights. Return to that situation may mean to take those actions which will be ultravires of the Constitution.

The controversial autonomy resolution, besides approving the State Autonomy Committee Report, demands from the Union Government and Government of J&K to take positive and effective steps for the implementation of the autonomy recommendations. Section 147(c) read with Section 3 and 5 of the J&K Constitution makes it clear that the present Government of J&K has exceeded its authority by introducing, discussing and getting passed the autonomy resolution by the Legislature which seeks to make various changes in the provisions of the Constitution of India applicable in relation to the State. The entire exercise is not in conformity with Section 5 of J&K Constitution as the Executive and Legislative Powers of the state are limited to matters except those over which Parliament has the power to make laws for the State under the provisions of the Constitution of India.

The Chief Minister of J&K says that the demand for autonomy will not end even if the Parliament rejects it. It is highly deplorable that the Government of India in spite of having been in possession of the State Autonomy Committee Report for several months well before passing of the controversial resolution by the Jammu and Kashmir Legislature, preferred to be silent and behave as a mute spectator. They allowed the situation to drift without taking stock of the fissiparous and divisive potential of the move. **They failed to check and prevent this unwanted development which has the potential of consolidating gains of the Islamic terrorist movement in this militancy ravaged State that has sent waves of disruption throughout the country and unnerved the minorities within the State.** During the course of the special session of J&K Legislature and after the passing of the controversial resolution by that Legislature, the important personalities in the Government of India issued contradictory statements which were confusing, and encouraged fissiparous elements in the country.

III. Regional Autonomy Report

The Jammu and Kashmir Government placed the Regional Autonomy Committee Report on the table of the Legislature in April, 2000 which is expected to discuss it in due course. The report proposes to divide the State into eight regions and provinces, three each for

the existing Kashmir and Jammu divisions and two provinces for Ladakh region (Leh and Kargil). After the exodus of the Kahmiri Pandits from the Valley, Kashmir is left with overwhelming Muslim population. But that is not the case with Ladakh and Jammu regions. These two regions have been divided into communal lines. The proposed division of the existing Jammu and Ladakh divisions is a big leap towards achieving the goal of 'Greater Kashmir' which separates the Muslim populated areas of the existing Jammu division on the north and west of the river Chenab from its Hindu dominated areas. It also separates Shia Muslim populated Kargil from Buddhist dominated Leh. Surprisingly the Regional Autonomy report does not make any mention of the fate of the Kashmiri Pandits in the State. The Regional Autonomy Committee Report is a complement of the Greater State Autonomy Report which will eventually lead to the separation of the so-called 'Greater Kashmir' from the country in due course of time. As is usual with the Kashmir's powerful political structures, the Autonomy Committee has ignored to take note of the ethnic cleansing of the Pandits from Kashmir, living presently in exile outside the valley for a decade. They have also ignored to take cognizance of the stern and far-reaching findings of the National Human Rights Commission that:-

- **Acts akin to genocide have occurred in respect of Kashmiri Pandits;**
- **Indeed in the minds and utterances of some of the militants a genocide type design may exist.**

The Autonomy Committee has wilfully ignored these observations and looked to the other side while making autonomy recommendations. The Pandits, therefore, justifiably feel that autonomy is a constitutional complement/supplement to their cleansing. It completes the ethnic cleansing of the Pandits to perfection and affixes the legal seal and blocks the chance of their return to Kashmir. Autonomy converts Kashmir legally into an Islamic territory within India where Islamic fundamentalism and terrorism will not only be preserved but will also have favourable conditions for growth and expansion.

Under such a dispensation, the Pandits are bound to lose their homes and lands, cultural base and symbols, social institutions, religious centres and places of pilgrimage, besides their sources of income. As the survival of the Pandits as a community is in peril, they therefore, stand against any move towards autonomy.

The encouragement of fluid relationship between the Centre and the State over the last fifty-three years kept the Kashmiri Pandits in suspense. It nurtured growth of Muslim majoritarianism and Muslim precedence in economic, social and political spheres of life which have left highly deleterious effects on the Kashmiri Pandits. The Central Government and the national level political parties have either failed or ignored to observe and appreciate its baneful impact on the survival of the Kashmiri Pandits as a community of distinct ethnic origin. The result of this deliberate policy towards the Pandits is that besides loss of their hearths and homes they are scattered and are on the verge of being evaporated as a community, having proud cultural heritage and history. The survival of the community is in peril. The unsympathetic policies adopted with regard to this endangered community need to be changed by adopting more humane and positive approach.

IV. Government's game plan for return of Pandits.

The Government of Jammu and Kashmir is again playing the second round of their game for the return of the Kashmiri Pandits to the Valley. It has to be understood that talking of the return of the Kashmiri Pandits to Kashmir closely on the heels of Autonomy Resolution by the Jammu and Kashmir Legislature is a 'political image building' monoeuvre. There is no other seriousness of purpose in it. The displaced Kashmiri Pandits are well aware that the members of the community who continued to live in Kashmir, for one reason or the other, after mass exodus, are also leaving the Valley to get rid of the oppressive living style thrust on them, and escape from occasional massacres. Therefore, no one attached any seriousness to it (return move).

People should face the truth. Kashmir is now Islamised by the fundamentalists and it has been turned into an Islamic territory. The decade long exile has turned the Kashmiri Pandits into a total refugee community. By compulsion created by the exile, the community is more mobile. The life style of the community has changed. After a decade of exile, the Kashmiri Pandits have to be politically “resettled” in Kashmir which is different from the “return” and “rehabilitation” concept.

The game of the Government does not take cognizance of the above factors. The crux of the Government’s scheme is that the Pandits are clearly told either to accept the offer or forfeit the right to live in Kashmir. The Pandits know that offer of the Government will turn them into internees at the mercy of the powers that be and the softest targets of the Jehadis. This offer of the Government rejects the right of the Pandits to live in compact manner to protect their identity, culture, traditions, religion and political aspirations in an area and among the people who have refused them co-existence. A community which has been subjected to exclusion, apartheid, genocide, ethnic cleansing and a decade-long exile can never accept to return and live in Kashmir on the terms offered by the Government, which is committed to revive the pre-1953 situation coupled with carving out ‘Greater Kashmir’. A resettlement plan for the Pandits in Kashmir has to be comprehensive which has an inherent constitutional mechanism which assures them safeguards against what they have suffered from 1947 to date. It should have an inbuilt mechanism which can retain the Pandits on a lasting basis in the Valley to enable them to live full life without fear and intimidation.

V. Therefore, this Kashmiri Pandit Representative Assembly, in its session at Jammu today July 13th, 2000 having discussed the State Autonomy Committee and Regional Autonomy Committee Reports alongwith the issue emerging out of their reports and other connected matters in detail including the action taken by the Government of India resolves to:-

- i) Reject the State Autonomy Committee and the Regional Autonomy Committee Reports as these are secessionist in nature, communal in content and anti Kashmiri Pandit in essence;
- ii) Deplore the dithering stances and the wrong policies adopted by the Government of India all along in handling matters relating to Kashmir and more recently having mismanaged the autonomy demand to the detriment of national integrity and security and ignoring to protect the rights of minorities, particularly of the Kashmiri Pandits in Jammu and Kashmir State;
- iii) Observe July 13th every year as Black Day in memory of 1931 attempt at the ethnic cleansing of minorities in the Valley at the hands of the Muslim Conference followers led by the Conference leaders.
- iv) Reject the 'Jammu and Kashmir Government plan' for 'return' of Kashmiri Pandits to the Valley; and
- v) Demand the resettlement of the Kashmiri Pandit community in Kashmir in a compact manner with an in-built mechanism for its retention on a lasting basis under a compact and complete political and constitutional dispensation with free and full flow of the Indian Constitution enabling the community to enjoy all the rights/responsibilities under it for which a separate State be created in the Valley of Kashmir for seven lakh Kashmiri Hindus.

This resolution was passed by the **Kashmiri Pandit Representative Assembly** unanimously. The session was held at Hotel Mansar, Residency Road, Jammu and was attended by 125 participants that included both camp and non-camp representatives. The one day session was attended by the leaders of the following frontal organizations:-

1. **Panun Kashmir Movement (PKM)**
2. **All State Kashmiri Pandit Conference (ASKPC)**
3. **Panun Kashmir (PK)**
4. **All India Kashmiri Pandit Conference (AIKPC)**
5. **All Kashmiri Pandit Solidarity Conference (AKPSC)**

Resolution on "Kashmiri Pandit Nirvasan Samvat"
PANUN KASHMIR MOVEMENT(PKM)
Presented and adopted in Executive Council Meet
(26th Nov. 2000, Jammu)

1. The Kashmiri Pandits are the aborigines of Kashmir valley. They are shortly going to complete the eleventh year of their forced exodus, ethnic cleansing and exile from the valley. The Pandits have suffered several times exodus and exile in the wake of religious persecution unleashed against them by the Muslim rulers of Kashmir during the last seven hundred years. All these unfortunate and gory events have remained buried deep in the history books only to be as a subject of special research and study by scholars.
2. The current exile of the Pandits from the land of their origin has a special significance as this unfortunate event has befallen this minority community of Kashmir valley whose members all along prided themselves upon being the citizens of the Indian Republic. The democratic constitution of India guarantees its citizens, including the Pandits, all the important fundamental rights of life, liberty, equality and dignity of the individual. But all these solemn promises have eluded the Pandits. The members of the community have, therefore, developed a feeling that, because of the continued mishandling of the Kashmir tangle by the powers that be, the current exile of the Pandits may not terminate in the near future. It is accordingly apprehended that this exile of the community may, as the past ones, also, remain confined within the covers of history books.
3. Thoughtful members of the community have considered this matter in its totality and thought it appropriate that the ethnic cleansing and exile of the Pandits from the valley are commemorated in a befitting manner, besides being recorded as a historical event, to serve as a living reminder to the members of the community of a burning urge to strive hard to regain the lost "Homeland" and resettle there with honour,

dignity and security, with full political powers in their hands so that their progeny may not again suffer the indignity and trauma which have been faced by the present generation.

4. To commemorate the upheaval through which the community has been passing ever since its forced exodus from Kashmir, it is proposed to start a new almanac(calendar) for the community. Various publishers of Kashmiri Pandit Janthri (almanac) are already recording January 19 every year as Nishkasan Divas (Exodus Day). However, with the passage of time and other unfavourable developments that have already taken place during the last eleven years, the Kashmiri Pandits have been forced to lead a life of exile. Therefore, there is every reason that the Pandits should commemorate their Nirvasan (exile) by projecting it in their Janthris. This will be called **Kashmiri Pandit Nirvasan Samvat**. Normally, the almanac should have started from the holocaust day- January 19, 1990. But to make it conform to the existing Hindu solar calendar, it is proposed to begin it from April 13, 1990 (1st Baisakh, 2047 Vikrami) so that the Nirvasan year calculation is made from Baisakhi (the 1st Baisakh). Accordingly the "**Nirvasan Samvat**" will start from 1st Baisakh and end on 30th Chaitra every year. Thus today, the November 26th, 2000 will correspond to Magar 12, Kashmiri Pandit Nirvasan Samvat-11.

Now, therefore, it is resolved that the Kashmiri Pandits will henceforth record '**Kashmiri Pandit Nirvasan Samvat**' in their Janthris that will be reckoned from 1st Baisakh, 2047 Vikrami (13th April, 1990) which shall be used for all social, political, cultural and other purposes.

Date : 12th Magar, Kashmiri Pandit Nirvasan Samvat -11 (November 26th, 2000)
Place: Jammu (India)

(Samvat Calculation Chart)*

Date (A.D.)	Year (A.D.)	Saptrishi Samvat	Vikrami Samvat	Kashmiri Pandit Nirvasan Samvat
13 th April, 1990	1990-91	5066	2047	1 st Baisakh, K.P.Nirvasan Samvat -1
13 th April, 1991	1991-92	5067	2048	1 st Baisakh, K.P.Nirvasan Samvat -2
13 th April, 1992	1992-93	5068	2049	1 st Baisakh, K.P.Nirvasan Samvat -3
13 th April, 1993	1993-94	5069	2050	1 st Baisakh, K.P.Nirvasan Samvat -4
13 th April, 1994	1994-95	5070	2051	1 st Baisakh, K.P.Nirvasan Samvat -5
13 th April, 1995	1995-96	5071	2052	1 st Baisakh, K.P.Nirvasan Samvat -6
13 th April, 1996	1996-97	5072	2053	1 st Baisakh, K.P.Nirvasan Samvat -7
13 th April, 1997	1997-98	5073	2054	1 st Baisakh, K.P.Nirvasan Samvat -8
13 th April, 1998	1998-99	5074	2055	1 st Baisakh, K.P.Nirvasan Samvat -9
13 th April, 1999	1999-00	5075	2056	1 st Baisakh, K.P.Nirvasan Samvat -10
13 th April, 2000	2000-01	5076	2057	1 st Baisakh, K.P.Nirvasan Samvat -11
13 th April, 2001	2001-02	5077	2058	1 st Baisakh, K.P.Nirvasan Samvat -12
13 th April, 2002	2002-03	5078	2059	1 st Baisakh, K.P.Nirvasan Samvat -13
13 th April, 2003	2003-04	5079	2060	1 st Baisakh, K.P.Nirvasan Samvat -14
13 th April, 2004	2004-05	5080	2061	1 st Baisakh, K.P.Nirvasan Samvat -15

*Computed by- PKM

**Memorandum for Submission to Census Commissioner of India
(Through Dy. Director, Census Operations, Jammu)**

The **Panun Kashmir Movement(PKM)** held a meeting of some prominent Kashmiri Pandits on 2nd Oct. , 2000 at Jammu. The meeting considered in detail the importance of the Census Operations-2001 and its relevance to the displaced Kashmiri Pandit Community in the context of the press statements that had appeared in a section of the press on 14th and 16th September, 2000. The meeting also took note of the statement released by the Director, Census Operations, Jammu & Kashmir which was published on September 17th, 2000. In this background, the meeting passed a resolution unanimously. We enclose a copy of the resolution for your sympathetic consideration and necessary action. The press statements, referred to above, are also enclosed.

Thanks and Regards

For and on behalf of the Kashmiri Pandit Community:

Bansi Lal Koul

Sr. Vice President,

PKM.

3rd Oct. 2000

RESOLUTION
ON
CENSUS OPERATIONS-2001

Context

1. The phenomenal decrease of Pandit population of Kashmir valley has been referred to in the press release of the Director, Census Operations, Jammu and Kashmir (Daily Excelsior, September 17th, 2000). While explaining the reasons for reduction of Muslim population in Jammu and Kathua districts, the press release was silent about the causes of decline of Pandit population in the Valley, notwithstanding the fact that Kashmiri Pandits suffered forced outflow of population continuously due to government policies responsible for their economic, religious and cultural squeeze. They were excluded from all fields of life right from 1947. Repeated communal violence against them in 1947, 1967 and 1986 forced Pandits to leave their original homes and places of birth. The insecurity of Kashmiri Pandits, in areas near the line of actual control and in the deep cut-off areas of the valley, and the areas where Pandit habitations were puny, experienced more insecurity and isolation, which compelled the Pandits to tear themselves away from their land. The press release has referred to the solitary census decade 1971-1981 which reflects the trend of the decline of Pandit population of the Valley right from 1947. While saying so we are knowingly burying the pre-1947 story of several bouts of Pandit exodus from Kashmir into the pages of history.
2. The average increase of Muslim population in the valley @ 30.02% against (+)7.83% in respect of Pandit population during 1971-81 cannot be explained in a region like the Valley of Kashmir where factors effective for growth should have been uniform for all. But it has not been so which obviously indicates large-scale exodus of Pandits population from the valley on regular and continuous basis right from 1947 till date. It cannot be overlooked that the overall decline in Pandit

population is also attributed to the government policy of understating their population with political motives of marginalizing them including denial of correct representation to them in the legislature and government right from 1947 onwards. The Pandits have all along expressed their protest against such mal-practices (refer - The Hindustan Times report dated 08-07-1985; photo copy enclosed).

3. The intensity of leakage on this account is enormous in Baramulla and Kupwara districts where the growth is negative (-) 4.11 and (-) 28.72 percent respectively. No natural calamity was directed towards Kashmiri Pandits only which could explain this negative trend of population of this community in these two districts. The range of intensity of decrease in Kashmiri Pandit population is colossal. Such enormous decline in population has been caused by the earliest silent exodus.
4. The outcome of Census-2001 is not expected to be correct in respect of the exiled Kashmiri Pandits. Determination of the roots of the exiled persons is of great importance to the seven lakh Kashmiri Pandit Community that has been subjected to extermination from Kashmir valley since 1947 till date. At present Kashmiri Pandit Community is scattered within and outside India. Due to the loss of their homeland, Kashmiri Pandits have acquired the unfortunate distinction of being the floating population of the world who have been delinked from their roots and who have failed to have the sense of belonging to their present environs. The Census Operations 2001 do not provide any mechanism for correctly determining the link of the scattered Pandit floating population with Kashmir. The format, procedure and operational limitation of the Indian Census 2001 are bound to fail to reflect the total population of Kashmiri Pandit community; their living conditions, properties (movable and immovable) left behind by them in Kashmir with income derivable therefrom; losses suffered during exile by arson and loot in Kashmir; distress sale of properties, properties made disputable due to long absence of displaced Pandits from Kashmir etc. The floating Pandit population cannot correctly and in its totality be enumerated

till a proper and special mechanism is evolved and a reasonable opportunity is given to Pandits to link themselves to their roots in Kashmir. The purpose of Census Operations has not to be restricted to the head-count of human beings only but it has to be comprehensive enough to reflect the changes that have taken place in the demographic complexion in a politically sensitive region like Kashmir especially in respect of ethnic minorities. To make the Census Operation meaningful, the relevance of collection and compilation of such information for policy planning and economic development of the exiled Pandits cannot be ignored. Failure to take timely and correct action in this direction is bound to result in an under-statement of Pandit population, which will have adverse consequence on the future resettlement of this displaced community.

Resolve

This prominent Kashmiri Pandit Citizens Meet, organized by Panun Kashmir Movement(PKM) resolves to urge the Government of India to take note of the concerns expressed by the Pandits about the deficient Census Operations 2001 in respect of the correct and total enumeration of Kashmiri Pandit floating population. The government of India is, therefore, urged to devise a special methodology to enumerate Kashmiri Pandit population and matters related to them by modifying the format so that the Pandits are afforded an opportunity to link themselves to their roots in Kashmir.

* * *

Kashmir 'Bias' against non-Muslim students

Hindustan Times Correspondent

July 8th 1985

"The first Hindu Youth Convention organized by the Hindu Yuvak Forum in Srinagar has in a resolution alleged that while the non-Muslim students have invariably dominated the education scene in the State, they were discriminated against when it came to admitting them to professional colleges of the State.

It said that, to circumvent the Supreme and High Court judgments against the writ petitions, the authorities concerned have stopped giving the vital information which was earlier contained in the gazettes. Those who were admitted to professional colleges, despite the authorities' deliberate attempts to sabotage their admissions, were harassed. The students who topped in their examinations were generally placed at the bottom after they graduated from the professional colleges.

The convention expressed concern over the anti-national and communal activities which were going on in various educational institutions, especially in the medical and engineering colleges and the university. While the genuine non-Muslim students are not allowed to use the auditoria and halls of the colleges, the Muslim fundamentalists have converted them into Islamic libraries and mosques. A recently constructed hall in the university campus was converted into a mosque in the university campus. This mosque was inaugurated by a Muslim Head of the department.

The resolution alleged that, while the non-Muslim students were not allowed to keep photographs of religious deities in the hostel rooms, the fundamentalists in the colleges were allowed to meet openly within the college premises with full co-operation and participation of the staff in the name of Medicos Islamic Movement. Derogatory and inflammatory material was also circulated. Kashmir history is not taught to the students because it mostly concerned the Hindu rulers of Kashmir. Despite the incontrovertible evidence that the Kashmiri language is an offshoot of Sanskrit, efforts were being made by the so called historians to link it to

Persian. The convention besides other things also demanded that Devnagri should also be given the official status for the Kashmiri script.

The convention also pointed out that places of historical importance were being renamed in the Kashmir valley. There is a proposal to rename more than 300 religious places which the convention said was a part of the Islamization plan.

Further it said that the unemployment was one of the main concerns of the non-Muslims. Highly educated, skilled and talented youth were unemployed while those with lesser qualification have been provided with Government jobs. The census reports have also been distorted by the authorities in order to show that the non-Muslim population was negligible. Finally, the convention pointed out that there was a mass exodus of the members of minority community from the State of Jammu and Kashmir to other parts of the country. This was a dangerous trend which should be stopped. There was indeed a sinister conspiracy to throw out the non-Muslims from the valley so that the designs of complete Islamisation were fulfilled."

* * *

**Memorandum submitted by Panun Kashmir Movement (PKM) & Panun Kashmir (PK)
Joint Working Council to Shri K.C. Pant at Jammu on June 1, 2001**

The Joint Working Council of Panun Kashmir (PK) and Panun Kashmir Movement (PKM) submits the following memorandum to Shri K.C. Pant for consideration:

1. Whereas the Government of India readily constitutes inquiry commissions for relatively minor happenings, the vast human tragedy of ethno-religious cleansing of the Kashmiri Pandit minority from its six thousand-year old habitat in the Valley of Kashmir has been carefully singled out for exclusion from any such process. In its formal communication to the prestigious International non-governmental organization called the International Commission of Jurists, the Government of India clearly acknowledged that the ethno-religious cleansing of the Kashmiri Pandits from the Valley had been the reason for their exodus. A judicial confirmation of this fact, from which the Government of India has been shying away for reason best known to it, would have paved the way for a better understanding and appreciation of the plight of the Kashmiri Pandits and the reason of their political struggle in exile.
2. Ethno- religious cleansing of the Pandit religious minority community of Kashmir took place when a popularly elected Government, pledged to democracy, secularism and pluralism, was in place. Today, when the Pandit community continues to languish in exile outside Kashmir, the same regional political party holds the reins of the Government and has not been able to do anything in regard to the Pandit issue. This means that there is something wrong with the very geo-political structure of the State of Jammu and Kashmir. In order to strengthen the democratic and secular process of India as enshrined in the constitution, there is the unavoidable need of geo-political restructuring of the State.
3. The Pandits are very eager to return to their place of origin, being the indigenous people of the valley. But they would like to live not at the mercy of the majority community that worked as an accomplice in their ethno-religious cleansing. Today,

they are a territory-less people. In order to provide them a territory as their birth right with appropriate political empowerment, the Pandits demand a Homeland in the Kashmir Valley, which they will administer according to their free choice as the citizens of India.

4. The frontline victims of the armed insurgency in Kashmir are the Pandits en masse. Being the internally displaced people, being a religious and a "reverse" minority, being the indigenous people of the Valley, and being the discriminated people on the basis of faith, the Pandits find that the UN Human Charter, the Universal Declaration on Human Rights and other international pronouncements and resolutions on minorities are on their side. As such, their participation in any negotiated settlement of Kashmir is of vital importance to the democratic and secular profile of India. The Pandits regret to say that so far they have been deliberately ignored for any talks on Kashmir.
5. The State and the Central Governments are making repeated attempts of addressing the symptoms of the Pandit problem and not its real causes. They try to circumvent the core issues and address the less-urgent or peripheral issues like return and rehabilitation without a proper political resettlement. Unless there is a geopolitical restructuring of the State that provides territory, political authority and conditions of an organized civil society to the Pandits, their return in a dark and uncertain situation may not be possible. If the Indian State desires to sacrifice the Pandits of Kashmir for legitimising its secular character by permitting Islamised Kashmir as a part of the Indian Union, the Pandits are not prepared to reconcile with that dispensation. It would be a betrayal of the Indian Constitution and the founding fathers of the country's independence.
6. The Pandit Community strongly repudiates the hypocrisy of "peaceful coexistence among communities in Kashmir". Likewise, it rejects, on historical evidence, the rhetoric of 'Kashmiryat' as a diluted form of Islam. The Pandits have suffered innumerable vicissitudes, conversions, persecutions and exodus during seven hundred

years of the Muslim rule in Kashmir in the past. That process has, ultimately, culminated in their ethno-religious cleansing in 1990.

7. Finally, the Pandit internally displaced persons place on record with thanks and gratitude the great sacrifices made by the Indian armed forces and security personnel in protecting the sovereignty and territorial integrity of the Indian Union of which Kashmir is an inseparable part. The Pandits believe that bilateral agreements/declarations between India and Pakistan and the unanimous resolve of the Indian Parliament in 1995 to take back the illegally occupied part of J&K State by Pakistan form the basis of a settlement of the Kashmir issue.

(Dr. Agnishekhar)
Convener,
Panun Kashmir (PK)

(Ashwani. K. Chrungoo)
President,
Panun Kashmir Movement (PKM)

JOINT WORKING COUNCIL
of
Panun Kashmir (PK) and Panun Kashmir Movement (PKM)
Central office: Jammu (India)

Ref-JWC/2k-02

July 6th, 2001 (23rd Aashad, Kashmiri Pandit Nirvasan Samvat-12)

Hon'ble Prime Minister of India,
New Delhi.

Your Excellency,

Kindly accept our greetings on your speedy recovery after undergoing a successful knee surgery at Mumbai. We wish you well.

We, the internally displaced Pandits of the Kashmir Valley, represented by the Joint Working Council of Panun Kashmir (PK) and Panun Kashmir Movement (PKM), have been struggling for the protection and preservation of our political, civil and human rights ever since our forcible exodus from Kashmir in 1989-90.

On June 1st 2001, Shri K.C. Pant, the interlocutor on Kashmir, was kind enough to hear us at Jammu. We are thankful to you for providing us that opportunity. On the eve of Your Excellency's impending talks with the President of Pakistan in New Delhi, in which Kashmir question is likely to figure, we humbly submit the following for consideration when the Summit holds its formal deliberations:

1. The Government of India has deemed it feasible to invite the President of Pakistan for talks on a variety of bilateral matters including Kashmir. We, the indigenous people of Kashmir; having been forcibly exiled from our native place, are naturally keenly interested in keeping a close track of the deliberations in this context.
2. Sharda, a historic cultural and religious site of the Kashmiri Pandits continues to remain under the illegal occupation of Pakistan. Since 1947, we have been denied access to this our ancient site of learning and a fountainhead of Kashmiri civilization and ethos. We

would like that this matter is taken up with the President of Pakistan who should initiate the required exercise to facilitate our annual pilgrimage to the shrine till Pakistan's illegal occupation of this part of Kashmir is finally vacated.

3. We, the long-persecuted Pandits of Kashmir Valley, were subjected to genocide in 1989-90 followed by our ethnic-religious cleansing in our ten thousand-year old place of habitation, a fact recognized by the international community as well as the Government of India. In doing so, the local Muslim insurgent segments of the Kashmir Valley, given arms, training and logistical support by Pakistan, were pursuing their hidden agenda. The training camps for Kashmiri insurgents have been set up on the soil of POK and Pakistan; their trainers and arms suppliers are Pakistani army officers (retired or in service), and the locals in the Valley are providing them protection and necessary logistical support.
4. The purpose of forcing out the Hindu minority is to 'Islamise Kashmir and establish an Islamic theocratic dispensation (Nizam-e-Mustafa) in place of secular democracy.
5. Pakistan has connived at our extirpation from our homeland. Contravening the international law, this act constitutes an international crime against humanity. Therefore, the State of India reserves the right to ask for reparations from the defaulting country for the Kashmiri Pandits now living away from their homes as refugees for the last 12 years.

In context of what has been stated above, we would be grateful if an opportunity is provided to us to explain our point of view further, personally, to your honour before the Summit meets. Thanks and regards.

Sincerely yours,

(Dr Agnishekhar)
Convenor,
Panun Kashmir(PK)

(Ashwani Kumar Chrungoo)
President,
Panun Kashmir Movement(PKM)

Note: The PMO invited the joint delegation of Panun Kashmir (PK) & Panun Kashmir Movement (PKM) for an audience with the Prime Minister. The delegation met the Prime Minister at his residence in New Delhi.

JOINT WORKING COUNCIL
Of
Panun Kashmir (PK) and Panun Kashmir Movement (PKM)
Central office: Jammu (India)

Ref :- JWC/2k -03

July 8th, 2001 (25th Ashad, Kashmiri Pandit Nirvasan Samvat-12)

**Memorandum for submission to the Hon'ble Secretary General,
United Nations, New York.**

**Presented through the Head of the United Nations Military Observer Group
For India and Pakistan at Jammu.**

1. The Joint working Council of Panun Kashmir (PK) and Panun Kashmir Movement (PKM), representative body of the displaced Kashmiri Pandits, submits this memorandum at a time when the Summit meeting between India and Pakistan is being held after a couple of days. The Kashmiri Pandits look at the summit with the hope and expectation that it would lead to the establishment of lasting peace and prosperity in South Asia and the world.
2. The Kashmiri Pandits are immensely gratified to note that your Excellency has been unanimously elected as Secretary General of the United Nations for the second term. The Pandit community conveys to your goodself hearty congratulations on this occasion.
3. At this juncture, the Kashmiri Pandits are passing through the twelfth year of displacement from the Kashmir Valley. The Pandits invite the attention of the world community to the genocide, exodus, ethnic cleansing and apartheid against the Kashmiri Pandit community of the Kashmir Valley by the Islamic fundamentalists and terrorists. This is now the core issue, which is involved in the Kashmir tangle.

4. Though in the Kashmir tangle there is involvement of over seven hundred thousand exiled Pandits, yet it has ramifications beyond the boundaries of the valley of Kashmir. The whole human civilization is endangered if the problem of ethnic cleansing is not earnestly attended. Now is the time for the world community to take care of the future of humanity living on this globe. The establishment of homeland for all the seven hundred thousand Kashmiri Pandits in Kashmir will enable the Pandits to maintain their distinct cultural identity and ethos only when their right to live in a compact and cohesive manner within a specified territory in their homeland in the Kashmir valley is applicable fully to that territory with full political power in their hands along with an economic mechanism which can retain the community in the land of its origin on lasting basis.
5. In the above background and context, the Joint Working Council (JWC) of Panun Kashmir(PK) and Panun Kashmir Movement(PKM) appeals to the world conscience, on behalf of the internally displaced Pandits now living in exile, that the issue of the displacement and resettlement of the aborigines and indigenous people of Kashmir (the Kashmiri Pandit Community) be recognized as a legitimate geo-political concern in respect of the Kashmir tangle and that should engage the attention of the ensuing Indo-Pak Summit as well for which we request your Excellency to use your good offices.

Thanks.

Sd/-
(Ashwani Kumar Chrungoo)
President,
Panun Kashmir Movement (PKM)

Sd/-
(Dr. Agnishekhar)
Convenor,
Panun Kashmir (PK)

Panun Kashmir Movement(PKM)

Memorandum for submission to Shri. N.N.Vohra, Interlocutor of Government of India for Jammu and Kashmir.

Establishment of peace in the terrorism ravaged Jammu and Kashmir State is the most urgent requirement. The Honourable Prime Minister's declaration at the Srinagar public rally for finding of a lasting solution through dialogue to the vexed Kashmir problem within the perimeters of "Insanyat, Jhumooryat and Kashmiryat" has been noted by us. Your assignment as the Government of India's interlocutor for holding dialogue with the leaders of the State for establishing peace in the state and for finding a lasting solution to the Kashmir problem is a correct step.

2. Kashmir had a small number of low profile separatists at the time of accession of the State to the Union of India in October 1947. But by encouraging communalism, mismanaging the affairs of the State, adoption of dictatorial and autocratic means by the rulers to trample the lofty democratic principles, secular norms, rule of law, liberty and justice, the negligible number of separatists were enabled to attract the disgruntled public to their side. Hindu bashing by the rulers became the order of the day. The formation of the Plebiscite Front in mid fifties of the last century gave a big boost to the secessionist movement which provided a fertile ground for the growth of indigenous terrorist organizations like Al-Fatha etc. in Kashmir. The out-burst of terrorism in 1989 was nothing new but a large scale expansion of this historical process that had been started earlier and nurtured painstakingly at various levels especially in mosques and 'Madrasahs' over the years. Kashmiri Pandits were the first targets of the fundamentalists and the terrorists so as to establish sole claim over Kashmir territory.
3. Article 370, Delhi Agreement, Indira Gandhi-Abdullah Accord of 1974 failed to prevent growth of fundamentalists, separatists and terrorists in the State. A different and separate constitutional relationship of the Centre with the State was got incorporated as

“Temporary provisions with respect to Jammu and Kashmir” in the Constitution of India. In response to this potentially fissiparous constitutional provision, that had a crippling effect on the fundamental rights and the independence of judiciary, the people of the state demanded “Eak Pradhan, Eak Vidhan, Eak Nishan”. A strong pro-integration movement was started by the people of the State which was brutally repressed by the State government in the early fifties of the last century. The repression of the people of the state roused the conscience of the people of the country that culminated in the martyrdom of Dr. Shyama Prasad Mukherji in 1953.

4. Even after fighting four wars, including the Kargil war, the bloody conflict with Pakistan has not ended. Thirteen years back, the indigenous terrorists in Kashmir launched operations against Pandits. These operations do still continue against the left-out Pandits in the valley. Pandits are repeatedly massacred individually and in groups. Nadimarg massacre is the last in the series. A new and serious dimension was added to the ongoing terrorist turmoil after increase in cross-border terrorism, which is used as a state policy instrument by Pakistan to achieve political goal of grabbing Jammu and Kashmir and to bleed India to weaken the resolve of the Indian nation to resist the aggression and fight back. The UN resolutions, Simla agreement and Lahore declaration have failed to bring in lasting peace. A new beginning has therefore to be made consistent with the sovereignty and integrity of the country. Hopefully, the past mistakes will not be repeated now.
5. Kashmiri Hindus generally known as Pandits are the aborigines of the valley. They have five thousand years written history of living in Kashmir. Pandits have suffered religious persecution in Kashmir for the last seven centuries with brief periods of respite. After the accession of the State of Jammu and Kashmir to India, the national and Kashmiri Muslim leaders promised Pandit community equality, liberty and full life with dignity under democratic constitution. Alas ! these promises were soon broken by the authorities. The Pandit community was soon “excluded from all walks of life through various overt and covert means. Pandits were subjected to communal violence in 1967 and 1986. The kind

of violence which Pandits were made to suffer in 1931 was repeated in the events of 1967 and 1986. Annually the Pandits still observe July 13, 1931 as "Black Day". Conditions were created for the Pandits to leave the valley slowly and steadily between 1947-89. No enquiry was conducted into these gory incidents and no one was punished. "Insanyat and Jhumoorat" were given a deep burial. Muslim majoritarianism and Muslim precedence which they call "Kashmiriyat" was allowed to rule the roost during this (1947-89) period.

6. Pandits were made to suffer genocide and ethnic cleansing in Kashmir in 1989-90. Almost the entire community is living a refugee life in a dispersed condition within and outside the country. Pandits are now a territory-less people whose fundamental, political and human rights are suppressed. They are dispossessed and are made to disintegrate. A negligible number of about 9000 left-out Pandits are still living in Kashmir in a shattered manner in 270 disjointed habitations. These left-outs have been repeatedly massacred individually on various occasions at various places and in large groups at Sangrampora, Wadhama, Telwani and now at Nadimarg. They are living under constant fear and risk of life. Due to apathy and negative attitude of the government towards their problems they warned that they would march out of the valley, not in buses or trucks but on foot.
7. Both the Central and the State governments have failed to redress the grievances and miseries of Pandits after independence and in post 1989-90 era. Both these governments ignored the findings and recommendations of the National Human Rights Commission made in their order dated 11 June, 1999 (Brief on Human Rights enclosed). On the other hand, these governments at the Centre and state level have made the so-called plans of return and rehabilitation plans for the Pandits. These plans were drawn unilaterally by the government without consulting the Pandit community. Besides, not being based on ground realities, these plans were ill-conceived and unsound in nature and politically motivated. The governments have been compelled again and again to put on hold these plans as the Pandit representative organizations rejected these in an outright manner.

Besides this, following the announcement of these plans, there were group massacres of the left-out Pandits in the valley.

8. This is the 14th year of exile of Kashmiri Pandits. No one can say when the uncertainty created by genocide, ethnic cleansing, exile and distress can end and when the community can be resettled permanently. Pandits are living in a state of continued stress for the last thirteen years.
9. The important fact which the government deliberately ignores is that Pandits have been refused co-existence by the majority community of the valley. The Pandits have territorial claim on Kashmir. They are the aborigines of the valley having deep religious, spiritual and cultural ties with that land. The Pandits belong to Kashmir. They want to live in Kashmir in a manner in which they feel and look secure. Pandits cannot live after suffering genocide and ethnic cleansing in numerically weak habitations, politically disjointed and scattered all over the surface of the valley under the same political system that was responsible for their exclusion and marginalization in Kashmir. Pandits will never like that their trauma and suffering should visit the lot of their progeny in future. Compact living in a specific area in the valley is the most important condition for their resettlement in the valley. They want free flow of Indian constitution in that area as is envisaged in the Margdarshan Resolution 1991 (copy enclosed). No other alternative is in the interest of the nation and the community itself.
10. It is understood by the Pandit community that your mission is to secure peace and lasting solution of Kashmir tangle. Pandits wish you success in your mission. The history of past fifty-five years clearly shows that the Central leadership has always tried to satisfy communal demands of the Kashmir valley majority community. By doing so, they have repeatedly ignored the nationalist demands raised in other regions of the state and the survival concerns of the Kashmiri Pandit minority community. It is due to this apathy on the part of the Central leadership that the Pandits have become refugees in their own

country. The lasting settlement of the Kashmir tangle and search for peace can not be achieved by ignoring genuine concerns of Pandits. No settlement of the Kashmir tangle will be lasting at the cost of the Kashmiri Pandit territorial claim on the valley or by bartering away their rights for short term political gains. Any settlement of the Kashmir tangle which does not address the genuine concerns of the Pandits will be partial and not comprehensive. While the myopic policy of ignoring the claims and rights of the aborigines of the valley will perpetuate misery and dispossession of Pandits, at the same time it will also be harmful for the permanent national interest and sovereignty of the country in this frontier state that has strategic geo-political position and importance in the south east Asia and the central Asian regions. The government needs to be cautious. The problem has to be dealt with decisively and its internal and external malignancy cured permanently by upholding the supreme national interest.

For and On Behalf of Kashmiri Pandit Community,

**Ashwani Kumar Chrungoo,
President,
Panun Kashmir Movement(PKM)
Central Camp Office; Jammu
Ph: 0191-2533252**

4th May, 2003 (Baisakh 21st, Kashmiri Pandit Nirvasan Samvat-14)

THE JAMMU AND KASHMIR STATE

Its Geography And Strategic Importance

Bansi Lal Koul

GEOGRAPHY AND PEOPLE

Jammu and Kashmir, as it was on August 15, 1947, had come into existence through the efforts of soldier-statesman Maharaja Gulab Singh and his son Maharaja Ranbir Singh. It was the skill of Maharaja Gulab Singh that brought the people, belonging to diverse geographical regions with different backgrounds, into a single political entity, whose only binding link was its administration owing allegiance to the Maharaja.

Maharaja Ranjit Singh of Punjab, with a view to creating a subordinate military power between the Sikhs and the Afghans, granted a number of estates that included Jammu, and the title of a Raja to Gulab Singh with the authority to have his own armed forces. With the assistance of his capable general Zorawar Singh, Gulab Singh came to be the undisputed ruler of Reasi, Rajouri, Chanani, Kishtwar and Ladakh by 1841. After the defeat of the Sikhs, two treaties: the Treaty of Lahore, 9-3-1846, between the Sikhs and the British, and the Treaty of Amritsar between Gulab Singh and the British, were concluded. Maharaja Gulab Singh was recognized as the independent ruler of all the territories in his possession and the Valley of Kashmir which was transferred to him on a payment of Rs.75 Lakhs on account of the war indemnity, on behalf of the Sikhs to the British. Maharaja Gulab Singh, in order to establish his authority over Kashmir, had to undertake a military operation against the local Governor of the Sikhs who was defeated. Gilgit too was under the Sikhs but after the Treaty of Amritsar, Nathua Shah was holding Gilgit on behalf of the Sikhs and transferred his allegiance to Maharaja Gulab Singh. Maharaja Ranbir Singh annexed the areas of Hunza, Nagar and Ishkuman to the State.

It is a misnomer to call the Treaty of Amritsar 1846 as a sale-deed, as was done by the National Conference in 1946. Infact, in the nineteenth century, similar treaties were executed by the East India Company with the Princely rulers of India. None of these treaties

has been labelled as a sale-deed. The Governor General Lord Hardings, in a dispatch dated March 19, 1846, explained the purpose of this treaty:

“As it was of utmost importance to weaken the Sikh nation before its Government could be re-established, I considered the appropriation of this part of the ceded territory to be the most expedient measure, I could devise for that purpose, by which a Rajput dynasty will act as a counterpoise against the power of the Sikh Prince, the son of late Ranjit Singh, and both will have a common interest in resisting attempts on the part of any Mohammedan Power to establish an independent State on this side of the Indus, or even to occupy Peshawar”

It was to further their imperial designs that the British executed this treaty.

This State has three distinct geographical regions. Areas criss-crossed by the Shivalik hills, extending from Basholi and Kathua in the east to the hills of Poonch upto the banks of the river Jhelum in the west, lying to the north of the plains of the Punjab extending upto Pirpanchal range in the north. Rivers like Chinab and Ravi, with their tributaries, flow through the area. Kashmir Valley, the oval shaped stretch of land is between the inner Himalayas and watered by the river Vitasta (Jhelum), is one of the most beautiful parts of the world. The arid highland region of Ladakh, a cold desert, Gilgit (Dardistan) and Baltistan, watered by the river Sindh and its tributaries, is the third region.

These geographical regions represent diversities of culture, race, language and history that encompass six distinct peoples living in the State.

Jammu region is mostly inhabited by the Dogras who are Hindus, and speak Dogri which has Devnagri script. Gojars, Bakarwals, and Paharis also live in this region. The people of the area are from the Aryan origin.

Ladakh region is a cold and dry plateau lying to the north of Himachal Pradesh. Ladakh and Zaskar are inhabited by the Buddhists and Kargilis are Shia Muslims. Bodhi or Ladakhi is their language, and the people of the region come from Mongol origin.

Gilgit or Dardistan is inhabited by Dardic people connected with Chitral in respect of race, language and culture. This region apart from Gilgit also includes the tributary states of Hunza, Nagar, Punial, Chilas, Ishkuman, Kuh and Ghizar. The Shia Muslims belonging to the Agha Khan Ismailia sect live in this area. The demographic complexion of this region has been changed by Pakistan by settling the Punjabi Suni Muslims in this area.

Balti people live in Baltistan. It is situated to the west of Ladakh between Kishenganga river in the south and Gilgit in the north. Islam is the religion of the people.

Baltistan and Dardistan were fully integrated by the Pakistan Government in consequence of the Qabaili raid in 1947. Now these areas are called "Northern Areas of Pakistan" administered by the Central Government of Pakistan directly. The people of these areas do not even have the right to have their own local self governing institutions.

The Punjabi speaking region is spread over the districts of Mirpur, Bimber, Poonch and Muzaffarabad. It is a ribbon-like strip stretching from Teetwal, Karnah in the north to Gingham in the south bordered in the west by river Jhelum. This region has actually been bifurcated by the Line of Actual Control (LOC) between the Jammu and Kashmir State of India and the Pakistan Occupied Kashmir. The people here do not speak Kashmiri language. It is a misnomer and a lie to call these people Kashmiris. This lie is perpetuated by Kashmiri secessionists supported by Pakistan to mislead the world opinion to gain a political mileage.

The Valley of Kashmir is the sixth region of Jammu and Kashmir. The people of Kashmir are pure Aryans. Kashmir has its own written history of the past five thousand years which in unambiguous terms records the cultural, social, religious and political connections

of this region with the rest of the country. Kashmiri language was originally written in Sharda, a form of Devnagri script. Due to disuse of Sharda script during the Muslim rule, Kashmiri language has been reduced to the status of a dialect now. The government of Jammu and Kashmir has miserably failed in imposing Persio-Arabic script for writing Kashmiri language. No wonder, in course of time Kashmiri language may be forgotten to be replaced by a dialect which will certainly not be Kashmiri. Upto the middle of the fourteenth century, the religion of Kashmiris was Hinduism. Due to the persecution policy of the Muslim rulers, Kashmiris were generally converted to Islam by force or exterminated, reducing the number of the Hindus in the Valley to over three lakhs in 1980-90 who had to face exodus under the cleansing plan launched by the Kashmiri Muslim secessionists backed by the gun wielding terrorists.

The total area of Jammu and Kashmir is 2.22 lakh Sq. Kms. Pakistan has occupied illegally 78,114 Sq. kms and handed over illegally another 5,180 kms to China. 37,555 sq kms are under the illegal occupation of China. The area of the State left with India is 1.01 lakh sq. kms; with Jammu 26,293 Kms and with Kashmir 15,948 sq Kms. The Valley of Kashmir is, area wise, only about 16% of the total area.

STRATEGIC IMPORTANCE

The invaders, who entered the Indian plains from the northwestern passes of the Himalayas, generally by-passed the hilly and mountainous region of Jammu and Kashmir. Despite the protective security of the mountain ranges around Kashmir, there is evidence to suggest that the Kashmiri rulers, even in the earlier periods of history, were not oblivious of the political changes which were taking place around their domain. M.A. Stein in his Kalhana's "Rajtarangini" records that the king Candrapida sent in 713 A.D. an "embassy to the Chinese imperial court to invoke its aid against the Arabs". Again, during the reign of Samgramaraja (1003-28 A.D.), Kalhana supplies the record of the account of the expedition which was dispatched by the Kashmir ruler under Tunga (his minister and General) to assist Sahi King Trilochanapla against Muhmud Ghazni.

The local Muslim Sultans ruled Kashmir for hardly 246 years. The political isolation of Kashmir from the main Indian heart-land was broken by the Mughal emperor Akbar in 1585 AD. All the political changes in Kashmir since then upto date have also been influenced and shaped by the events that took place outside Kashmir.

In modern times, Jammu and Kashmir assumed strategic significance only after the rise of the Sikh empire in the Punjab in the early nineteenth century. The shrewd and far-sighted Maharaja Ranjit Singh was quick to realize the strategic importance of this region which made it imperative for him to create a vassal Dogra ruler as a buffer between his empire and the Muslim states to the northwest of India. After the fall of the Sikh empire in the Punjab, the British rulers too continued the policy of the Sikhs in respect of this region. Accordingly, the Britishers did not annex the mountainous region lying between river Ravi and the Indus to their empire but allowed it to remain with the Dogra rulers under their suzerainty.

With the extension of the Czarist Russian empire to Central Asia, during the nineteenth century, Jammu and Kashmir assumed more strategic significance for the British Government of India in the context of an European power reaching north-western borders of their empire in India. The Russian Czarist empire's penetration into Central Asia, apart from its expansion, was looked at by the Britishers as the effort on the part of Russia to have access to the 'warm-waters' of the Persian Gulf and Arabian sea. It was to keep a close watch over the developments in the Central Asia and Russian empire and to protect their sphere of influence in that area, that the British Government of India took on lease Gilgit in March 1935 for sixty years which was, however, terminated on August 1, 1947 and Gilgit was again restored to Maharaja's Government.

The geo-political changes of far reaching consequence took place in and around Jammu and Kashmir in and after 1947. Large areas of the state were forcibly and illegally

occupied by Pakistan. In the neighbourhood, the Communists took over the control of China. Soon thereafter the Indian Government, as a goodwill gesture towards China, withdrew their armed garrison from Lhasa and further recognized Tibet as an autonomous region of China.

Jammu and Kashmir was pushed into the vortex of world politics and intrigue in the wake of India's reference to the United Nations Security Council on December 30, 1947. The Indian request to the Council was to prevent Pakistan from participating or assisting in the invasion of India in Jammu and Kashmir. The United Nations Security Council miserably failed to respond to the Indian complaint in a positive manner, and has unnecessarily allowed to keep this item on its agenda for nearly last half century, even when it has not been discussed in the Council for several years. The sooner the Council deletes the item from its agenda, the better it would be for securing peace in South-east Asian region.

In the early fifties, the USA began to involve Pakistan in its global policy of containing the communist USSR and stopping the spread of communism or its influence in the South-East Asian regions. Pakistan became a member of the military alliance sponsored by the USA, and even allowed the use of its territory for establishment of military bases against communist Russia. In the process, Pakistan accumulated a huge stockpile of modern armament which emboldened it to launch wars against India in 1965 and 1971 to grab Jammu and Kashmir. The results of these wars were humiliating and disastrous for Pakistan. The Simla Agreement was concluded by India and Pakistan in 1972 to normalize their relations. The ceasefire line in Jammu and Kashmir was slightly modified and named 'Line of Actual Control'. The political boundaries in South-East Asia were redrawn. East Pakistan separated from the parent country, giving birth to independent Bangladesh. Over 90,000 war prisoners of Pakistan were released by India and the two countries agreed to settle their unresolved problems through mutual discussion. After the implementation of the terms of the agreement which were favourable to Pakistan, that country adopted a hostile attitude towards India particularly in regard to Jammu and Kashmir.

The communist regime of China questioned, in early fifties, the validity of Mac-Mohan Line that was drawn by the British Government of India to demarcate the border in the north-east. The Chinese crossed this line and occupied large parts of Indian territory in 1962. In Jammu and Kashmir, the Chinese forces had occupied illegally 37,555 sq. km. in Aksaichin plateau of Ladakh, without being noticed by the Indian Government. The Chinese had even constructed an all-weather road across the plateau to connect their Sinkiang province with Lhasa in Tibet. The Chinese also struck in the eastern Ladakh at an important Indian out-post at Damchuk.

During the Chinese aggression of India in 1962, Pakistan adopted a menacing posture against India and mounted diplomatic pressure through USA so as to grab the Indian territory in Jammu and Kashmir. But thanks to the persevering and patient handling of discussions by the Indian External Affairs Minister with Pakistan, the situation was saved.

It seems that China has attained its territorial objective by occupying the Indian territory in 1962 war. While the illegal occupation of the Indian territory by China continues, the government of India has allowed the situation to freeze over the last thirty five years.

In 1963, Pakistan bartered away illegally the Indian territory of 5,180 sq. Km. in Gilgit to China to seek nuclear know-how from that country. The Chinese have turned the ancient Silk Route which passes through this area into the modern road that connects Gilgit with China which is already linked with Abbatabad and Muree in Pakistan.

Among the kaleidoscopic changes taking place around Jammu and Kashmir was the formation of a pro-USSR communist government in Afghanistan which was allowed by the entry of USSR armed forces in that country to support and protect the communist regime which was not to the liking of the USA. The Afghan rebels who had taken refuge in Pakistan were armed by Pakistan with the supplies of armament received by them from USA, to fight the infidel anti-Islamic communist regime in Afghanistan. In the process, Pakistan cornered a good portion of this armament which is being used by them since 1989 to arm the Kashmiri terrorists for creating turmoil to oust India through insurgency from the valley of Kashmir. Pakistan has used the Islamic card effectively to seek the support of all Islamic countries

particularly that of Saudi Arabia, Sudan, Afghanistan, Iran etc. to fight in Kashmir, against India, a proxy war.

The State of Jammu and Kashmir has evoked great interest of powers particularly that of USA with the emergence of Commonwealth of Independent States (C.I.S) in place of the erstwhile USSR. The Central Asian States of CIS are populated by Muslims where Pakistan, Iran, Turkey along with the USA are eager to extend their sphere of influence to get access to the rich natural resources of these states by expanding their trading interests. China also has keen interest in the developments that are taking place in this region particularly as one of the CIS has a huge stockpile of nuclear arms. Jammu and Kashmir being surrounded by Pakistan and Afghanistan in the west, Tajikistan and China in the north and Tibet region of China in the east, makes it an area of interest for all those powers. This interest has been heightened due to unresolved conflict over Jammu and Kashmir that exists between India and Pakistan.

By constructing two strategic roads within the illegally occupied territory in the north-east in Aksaichin plateau in Ladakh and in Gilgit area in the north-west of Jammu and Kashmir, the Indian defence has been made more vulnerable by China and Pakistan. The Indian defence strategists had no option but to strengthen the vigil over Saichin glacier involving a huge cost in men and material. The "high-cost low-intensity proxy war" that has been thrust on India in Jammu and Kashmir since 1989 by Pakistan is a source of constant worry and threat to the defence of the country. The serious situation that has developed in Jammu and Kashmir poses a serious challenge to the Indian Defence strategists. It is to be decided by them how long they can afford to allow a "no-war no-peace situation" to continue within the Kashmir valley and on the borders and the Line of Actual Control of Jammu and Kashmir State touching Pakistan. They will have to give a serious thought to whether the continuance of the current strategy can prove beneficial to the long-term defence requirements of the country.

Over the years, India has lost much of its prestige by adopting both foreign and defence strategic policies which do not help in giving this country of ninety crore inhabitants the place that it deserves in the world. In the Disarmament Conference on CTBT held at Geneva on June 20, 1996, the Indian representative declared that the treaty perpetuated

inequity among the nations and did not take seriously the national security concern of India from the existence of nuclear arms stock-pile available with the neighboring countries. Accordingly, India finally opposed the CTBT. Notwithstanding this decision, it was not followed up by making the desired budget allocations available for 1996-97. In the last seven years, there has been no enhancement of these allocations in real terms.

Despite our claims that we are the largest stable democracy of the world, we have received a serious diplomatic set-back due to lack of support from the member countries of the United Nations to get two years membership of the Security Council. In the face of our recent poor performance, it is highly doubtful if it can be possible for us to secure a permanent seat in the United Nations Security Council in the next couple of years.

The policy of "Track-II Diplomacy" relating to Pakistan involving unilateral adoption of confidence building measures by India has not been reciprocated by that country. The relations between the two countries have sunk to unprecedented depths with the recent violent attack on Wahi couple who were on a diplomatic assignment in Pakistan. The way Islamabad has dealt with the Indians posted there, especially the knifing of an Indian lady by Pakistani security personnel, is the first of its kind. All these events point to the fact that Indian diplomatic postures presented to Pakistan are not based on a realistic assessment of the situation. At present our diplomatic clout in the world community is obviously quite low. Can our defence strategists afford to ignore these discouraging signals given to us by the world community and by our unfriendly immediate neighbour?

Published in 1997

(The Author is the former Chairman, Advisory Board of PKM)

Dated January, 1997

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अनुष्ठान

लज्जाहीन असत्य को बेनकाब करने हेतु सत्य का अभियान
निरंकुश अधीनता के विरुद्ध एक विद्रोह
महाअपराध के खिलाफ एक सशक्त ढाल
विस्मृति को परास्त करने का एक धर्मयुद्ध
अनुजीवन के युद्ध में यशस्वी बनने का एक संघर्ष
मुददों को जीवित रखने का एक संग्राम.....
और जिससे हुए हैं वंचित उसे अर्जित करने का एक महाअभियान-
यही तो है जिसे कहते हैं -

पनुन कश्मीर मूवमेंट (पी०के०एम०) ।

कर्मक्षेत्र में दृष्टि को सृष्टि में,
बदलने का एक दैवी अनुष्ठान -

यही तो है जिसे कहते हैं -

पनुन कश्मीर मूवमेंट (पी०के०एम०) ।।

Back Cover Photo : **EXODUS**
Courtesy : PKM Photo Exhibition

It was in 1994 that Panun Kashmir Movement(PKM), a frontline organisation began to work purposefully, and in right earnest, in different fields. Its multidimensional activities are documented in a voluminous material collected over the years, which reflects the persistent efforts of the organisation in the human rights, socio-economic and political areas, involving a vast spectrum of activities like political resolutions passed from time to time; interactions through correspondence, and interface sessions, with various organisations, political personages and individuals of consequence, inside and outside the country, focusing on the human rights violations of the Kashmiri Pandit Community; the genesis of the forced mass exodus of 1989-90 with its disastrous ramifications for the community; series of communications with the National Human Rights Commission(NHRC) and the latter's positive responses ; court cases fought; the callous indifference and apathy of the State government; exposition of the violations of human rights committed against the Kashmiri Pandits, at various fora nationally as well as internationally.

Kashmiri Pandits - Refugees in their own Country



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